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AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

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# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

*July-August, 1945*



## THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF CULTURE

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

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● It would seem axiomatic that the human mind with its superior powers of adjustment, with its creativeness, lay back of human civilization with its achievements. "An analysis of culture," says Goldenweiser, "leads back to the individual psyche." That is to say, every element and every change in culture will be found upon analysis to have had its beginning in the creative or modifying action of an individual mind.

Yet this common-sense view has been a center of controversy in both anthropology and sociology. In anthropology we have often had an ignoring of individual psychology and a doctrine of social or cultural *determinism*, namely, that "all culture comes from culture," and that there is no scientific need of taking the individual mind into account. This is an understandable result of taking the human group and its culture as the unit of study, and it may even result from a merely objective study of cultural evolution. But it overlooks the deeper sources of cultural change and development. While it is true that the culture of a group comes to its individual member as something external and objective to which he has to adjust himself, yet in the very process of adjustment he modifies his culture, usually unconsciously, by the variability and originality of his own personality. If culture in ultimate analysis is a product of the human mind and its capacity to learn from experience, and if human society itself is largely a product of culture, then it follows that human social behavior, so far as it is

human, is a product of the human mind, in either its remote or immediate functioning.

The claim has been made that group behavior and group culture have no objective reality. But obviously the mind of the individual through intercommunication participates in adjustment processes that are larger than the individual. A group of animals below man can, perhaps, be safely regarded merely as a group of bodily organisms, but not so a human group. It is a group of minds in interaction. And, when these interactions become regular, coadaptive, and coordinated, we call them "folkways," "customs," and "institutions." Moreover, these coadaptations, or adjustments between the members of a group, are constantly changing, giving rise to modifications in the group's customs and institutions. Thus the human individual mind as the center of consciousness, and so of thought and feeling, is an organ of adaptation not only for the individual but also, through the process of intercommunication, for the group. Evidently the student of human social behavior needs to understand the human mind in both of these dynamic phases of human experience.

But it is a mistake to regard all human social behavior as determined by custom and tradition. We have already seen that precultural, biosocial factors also continue to influence and sometimes to determine the social behavior of civilized men. It is equally true that the fundamental *psychological* constitution of man, which science has shown to be relatively the same for all men, operates in all stages and phases of culture. Cultural determinism can take place only within the framework of this fundamental human psychological constitution. That psychological constitution makes man an active, creative organism. A science that fails to recognize the organizing, creative character of the individual human mind is bound to be a



failure. As an organizing, creative agent, the human mind does not always follow the beaten paths of tradition and custom. It accepts and follows them only when they satisfy its fundamental purposes. But among most peoples such relative "cultural determinism" is the rule, and only rarely are questions raised regarding the validity of tradition and custom, and then usually only in severe crises. Hence the fundamental "laws" and principles of social behavior, of human interaction, may not safely be regarded as mere products of custom and tradition, even though these latter may exert very great influence. Let us see, accordingly, in part what this fundamental human psychological constitution is like.

Like the animal mind, the human mind is fundamentally purposive in its action. It is also selective because it has to be selective to be purposive. Through this telic constitution the mind directs itself to the control of both organic processes and environmental situations. But the human mind does this to a degree unknown to the animal mind. The animal's control over its environment is narrowly limited; mental evolution has not gone far enough in the animals below man for any of them through imagination and reasoning to perform experiments in the mind and solve their problems imaginatively. Learning, at least in its highest manifestations, consists largely in the development of this ability. The mind of man works with abstractions, with symbols, and thus can make over its world in imagination before it undertakes to make over its real world. The animal mind is limited, in contrast, to the exploration of objects and concrete situations through sense impressions.

But we should not forget that the lower animal mental processes continue to function also in human social behavior. The evolutionary levels of animal behavior are all discernible through psychological analysis in human

social behavior, and it is as much a mistake to forget the lower as it is to overlook the higher levels. Animal impulses, or hereditary reactions, for example, are frequently in evidence in human social behavior. They predominate even in the behavior of domestic animals, and there is no reason for supposing that they did not predominate in the earliest stage of human history before cultural controls were established. They must have had in the beginning much to do with setting the pattern for fundamental human relations, such as the relations of the sexes, of parents and offspring, and leader and follower. Even after cultural patterns have been established as deposits of experience in the traditions of the group, original animal impulses, either conscious or subconscious, often remain as motives in human social behavior. Finally, in times of excitement and emotional stimulation, such as war, original animal impulses must largely explain reversions to the brute level in human behavior.

All this would scarcely be questioned by anyone who understands organic and mental evolution were it not for a certain degree of psychological sophistication and often misunderstandings from the use of words. For example, there is the age-old problem whether man is social because of natural impulses or because he has learned to live in groups. There is, of course, no single gregarious or social "instinct" which accounts for human social behavior; but there are many natural impulses or biological urges which impel human beings to live in such groups as the family and the neighborhood, even though the kind of family and neighborhood in which man lives is a matter of culture. The whole biological and mental make-up of man is in one sense "social." If this were not so, social interaction could never have played the part which it has played in the development of culture.

However, there is now practically universal agreement among social scientists that man's social life is built far more upon acquired habits than upon hereditary reactions, and that hereditary reaction tendencies constitute only a hypothetical foundation for group habits. Customs are the tangible, objective manifestations of a group's culture, and these are collective expressions of group habits. To this extent it must be conceded that custom, rather than tradition, is the foundation of human culture. But customs in the proper sense of the word imply some degree of coercion or sanction of the groups in which they are found; and group sanctions for customs could scarcely exist without intercommunication. Hence, the habitual ways of thinking and feeling in a human group, or group traditions, sustain and maintain group customs. But if we extend the concept of habit to include prevailing regularities of thought and feeling in a group, then group culture rests upon acquired habit—objectively manifested in group customs, on the one hand, and subjectively in group traditions, on the other hand. Group institutions are, of course, still further manifestations of group habits, with stronger sanctions instituted by the recognized authorities in the community. Thus the whole group organization, or order, is built upon the psychological fact of habit.

But habits of action in human beings are usually sustained and reinforced by feeling and thought. In the individual it is feeling especially which accompanies and reinforces action. If the action springs from a natural animal impulse, the feeling which accompanies it is usually of an emotional character. If the action represents merely an acquired habit, the feeling which accompanies it is usually a sentiment.

Sentiments are feelings that have become attached to objects or ideas, and therefore they have to be learned. They are usually traditional in a group, and often support

very ancient customs and institutions. As emotions usually reinforce original animal impulses, and as sentiments frequently are attached to customary habits, neither of these manifestations of feeling are trustworthy guides for intelligent social behavior in the present. In fact, they are, together with natural animal impulses, the chief bulwark of the irrational element in human relations. Nevertheless, in every human community, except possibly the most highly cultured ones, they are the chief guides in social behavior.

But both emotion and sentiment furnish individuals with "drives" in social behavior which no community can afford to dispense with. Higher civilization is supposed to furnish intelligent control over the baser emotions, such as fear, pride, and anger. But it often fails to do so. However, the forms of expression of even these emotions are controlled by group culture, and there is no reason why culture cannot in a highly civilized group bring about the prevalence of the more socialized emotions connected with social sympathy and good will. This, indeed, group culture achieved even in the lower preliterate groups in face-to-face human relations. The reason why it has failed to make the nobler emotions prevail in the relations of strange groups will become evident as we proceed in the discussion of cultural evolution.

However much customs and institutions are depicted as irrational, it must be remembered that they are "deposits of experience," and that intelligence is essentially ability to profit from experience. It would be nearer the truth to say, not that institutions are irrational, but that they usually embody very undeveloped intelligence, an intelligence that proceeds by crude trial-and-error methods rather than by critical thinking. They are rarely, if ever, the result of critical, logical reasoning. However, the recognition of this fact should not prevent us from seeing the

large elements of intelligence in the customs and institutions of all peoples. Institutions indeed could not exist without symbolic thinking, and intelligence is human just in proportion to its use of symbolic values in adjustment processes. Institutions as ways of living together, as devices for promoting cooperation, are learned from the group, usually by their meaning being conveyed by means of symbols, especially by language. *It is the collective learning of the group which builds institutions.* But such learning from our point of view may be filled with errors. It simply represents the more or less intelligent judgment of group leaders, the result perhaps of a very limited experience, with no knowledge of critical thinking. Nevertheless, human institutions are, in their main outlines, deposits of experience, however narrow; and the interlearning process by which they are built has in it always elements of imagination and reasoning. Primitive law, government, religion, morals, and industry show intelligence as well as the institutions of the present do; but to expect any of these at any time to be "embodiments of reason" is to misunderstand cultural evolution. Institutions embody ideas or concepts as well as sentiments and habits. They are as much the expression of human thought as physical tools. Moreover, through symbols, they provide for the transmission of the ideas, beliefs, and values which maintain them. Like tools, they depend upon learning processes for their transmission and development. But unlike physical tools, their utility is not so easily tested by sense impressions. Usually it can be tested only by the historical experience of the group, and so by complex processes of thought.

Both tools and institutions are products of human imagination and reasoning. In imagination objects and images are put together in new ways, and thus mental synthesis results. Reasoning is controlled imagination, testing its mental constructs by their harmony with experience or



with beliefs already accepted by the group. Thus man becomes a creative animal. Through imagination, based upon fact or upon accepted beliefs, he builds within his mind a new world. This power of creation through abstract symbolic thinking is not possessed by the animals below man so far as we know, and makes an absolute dividing line between the brute and the human. It is the power by which man has gradually built a world of tools and institutions, of ideas and values—in a word, a world of culture.

Enough perhaps has been said to show that human culture is a product of man's capacity to learn, that is to say, of the distinctive attribute of the human mind; and that the higher human cultures have been built especially upon the *learned* traits of social imagination and social intelligence. But this means that human mental life and human social life have developed together. Hence, the modifying of individual mentality and of accepted patterns of culture must go hand in hand for any sort of intelligible human progress, whatever we may mean by the phrase.

## LOOKING FORWARD IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES\*

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● This discussion is concerned with new developments in the social sciences. Looking forward, one should be concerned as far as possible with tangible evidences rather than generalities; else the effort degenerates into guess work and prophecy. Since all science, or verified knowledge, develops by research alone, my discussion will deal primarily with *research* developments in the social sciences. . . .<sup>1</sup>

In education we have underestimated the part that original native ability plays in formal education, and in social work we have underestimated the role of natural recuperative social processes of an all-surrounding society in the restoration of maladjusted individuals. May we not be justified, therefore, in the hypothesis that there exist in society certain natural recuperative processes that do operate through social absorption to effect restoration? We have only begun to utilize these processes in social case work therapy and in social group work therapy.

We need methods by which we may describe these natural recuperative social processes. They have not been described adequately by the techniques of social case work and group work. Fortunately sociologists and some social workers have begun the construction of tools of research that can be used to describe these processes.

Before going on we need to distinguish between tools and methods, between instruments and procedures. Doc-

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\* An address given at the 1944 annual meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work. The public address style has been retained.

<sup>1</sup> The materials omitted at this point include a definition of social science and a discussion of the developments in social science research during the last twenty-five years.

tors use a direct *method* of interview to obtain information, as well as a laboratory *method* of blood analysis. Doctors also use such *tools* or instruments of description as a mouth thermometer, a stethoscope, a machine to measure the patient's blood pressure, et cetera. These *tools* are instruments of precision that give precise description of some of the patient's symptoms. A Negro or a white nurse will get the same result by testing the temperature of the same patient when using a standardized thermometer. A Jewish or Catholic doctor gets the same result on the same patient with a Wassermann test.

Now the various sociometric scales to measure attitudes, adjustment, morale, home environment, social status, and participation are in reality *tools or instruments of observation* just as truly as are the mouth thermometer and the stethoscope of the doctor.

I shall not impose upon you to describe in detail the technical mathematical-statistical methods of scale construction, except to note in passing that we can now make these scales as reliable and valid instruments of measurement as any accepted scale to measure intelligence. Also, it should be emphasized that the best of these scales are never final. They are always subject to revision. Furthermore, these scales are always auxiliary and supplementary to experience, skill, and the exercise of critical common sense by the practitioner. Now for a brief summary<sup>2</sup> of the areas of social relationship to which these scales may be applied in social work research.

In approaching these areas of new methods of sociological research, a word needs to be said about scientific orientation in research. Let us begin by noting that the economist who turns to empirical research rather than to theoretical generalizations (a dialectic of concepts) is born into a

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<sup>2</sup> F. S. Chapin, "Trends in Sociometrics and Critique," *Sociometry*, 3:247-62, July, 1940.

world which has records of economic mass behavior ready-made for his analysis: he finds objective units in census figures, in units of mass, volume, distance, area, and prices. These data he can often use to clarify the meaning of events, past and present. By contrast, the sociologist and social worker, with empirical research interests, is born into a world in which there is no ready-made system of units which record objectively the social phenomena of attitudes, sentiments, customs, and traditions. Consequently, the research sociologist, like the psychologist, has to construct, *de novo* and painfully, all his tools of observation. He needs scales of measurement that are reliable and valid instruments of observation. Beginning with the crude schedule and questionnaire of inquiry, he has slowly made his way toward the construction of valid sociometric scales. Thus the research sociologist is still in the toolmaking stage of his science. Although hundreds of these sociometric scales have been constructed by research workers in the United States, they vary greatly in precision. We now turn to an examination of these areas of sociometrics or social measurement.

In general, there are three areas: first, the central area of the human personality and individual responses, called psychometrics; second, large areas such as the community, the whole city, and even the state or commonwealth, called demogrametrics; and, third, the area of social behavior of the individual human being in his group contacts, called sociometrics. I shall now turn to what may be called demogrametrics and sociometrics, since the first field, psychometrics, is familiar to all social workers in the form of personality scales and intelligence tests.

Scales have been developed to measure the area of a whole state interpreted as a wider social environment, to measure the whole city as a social environment, to measure the comparative healthfulness of city and rural environ-

ments, to measure healthful housing as a social environment, to measure the healthfulness of an urban neighborhood environment. To cite these scales by name would burden the discussion with too much detail; so I merely state for your information that I can supply title lists if you desire them.

The sociometric scales are far more numerous than those just mentioned. Some of these scales measure informal friendship groupings, others rate the play groups of children and young persons, then there are scales which measure social participation in the more formally organized groups, and still other scales describe the social distance between persons and are helpful in studies of race prejudice. Besides these seven types of scale, there are nineteen others devised to measure various aspects of socioeconomic status or the tangible characteristics of an environment of a home.

Lest you now feel that my treatment of social measurement imputes to the rank and file of social workers desires for refinements which are contrary to the real thinking of these people, let me cite some facts. Mrs. Fenlason, in her study of 779 practicing social workers in Minnesota, found that over 50 per cent desired more knowledge of the measurement of personality adjustments and changes in attitudes and interests, 47 per cent desired more knowledge of measurement of home environment, and 41 per cent desired more knowledge of methods of social research and of the measurement of social attitudes. So much for the interests of the rank-and-file practitioner. But a word of caution is needed for the enthusiastic scale constructors. The mathematical-statistical techniques used to construct scales are so fascinating to some immature research students that they are likely to find in this field of research an escape from reality. Instead of doing the dirty work of handling raw data with its requirements of accuracy, rou-



tine and realism, such students are prone to find refuge in the intricacies of overprecise refinements. My advice is that you insist that such brilliant students with a gift for abstract analyses keep their feet on the ground, and that you force them to learn how to collect original data as an antidote to their overrefining interests.

But now I pause a moment because I hear some of you thinking. I hear you thinking that all this measurement business may be well enough but it neglects such vital areas as insight, intuition, and psychoanalytical interpretation. All right, I accept your challenge and have my answer ready. It is this. Recently I attempted to construct a scale to measure social insight. It was developed by tests obtained through the cooperation of 400 social workers, executives, agency clerical secretaries, in the Twin Cities, and graduate students in the School of Social Work. The scale, when completed, differentiated decisively between these secretaries and social workers, and the achievements (scores) of graduate social work students before and after completing a course in field work were significant. But again I hear you thinking, how was social insight defined?—because it all depends upon this definition. I set up the hypotheses<sup>3</sup> that for the purpose of this pioneering effort

Social insight is the ability to recognize in principle in a given situation: (1) the existence and operation of specific substitute responses such as projection, rationalization, regression, sublimation, transference, etc.; and (2) the need of some specific stimulus to adjust group conflicts or tensions, such as a humorous remark to relax a dangerous intensity, a suggested compromise to attain temporary agreement, a face-saving remark to avoid embarrassment and to preserve status (to leave a loophole, a way out, etc.), or to discover the missing part required to complete a pattern of thought (the right formula), etc. The ability to recognize these

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<sup>3</sup> Chapin, "Preliminary Standardization of a Social Insight Scale," *American Sociological Review*, 7:214-25, April, 1942; "Social Participation and Social Intelligence," *ibid.*, 4:157-66, April, 1939.

mechanisms in principle and to apply these formulas in specific social situations like a conference between two or more persons is not the same as "ability to get along with people," often used as a definition of social intelligence.

It is possible that social insight may have other aspects than the two mentioned. However, we believe that an approach may be made to an operational definition of social insight by limiting the study to these aspects. In this connection, it is evident that we may use to advantage in the measurement of verbal response the distinction made in symbolic logic between (a) the expressive function of language, and (b) the representative function of language. Certain Freudian categories are available to describe the former; and we find in semantical and in syntactical analysis useful categories to describe the latter.

Significant materials for the construction of this scale were found in case histories of individuals, in problem novels, in items used in existing scales to measure social attitudes, social adjustment and social intelligence, and in the published analyses and records of conference discussions.

This definition may be all right as far as it goes, some of you are now thinking, but it does not envision all the factors involved in the operation of social insight. My answer is, you are right again, and that you are therefore just the persons to improve upon my crude beginning effort.

Let us next turn to the matter of intuition<sup>4</sup> and its role in research. Surely intuition plays an important role in social research. The disrepute into which this term has fallen among many scientists is due to the fact that it is used without proper discrimination; for instance, if intuition is to be regarded as a tool of research to be set alongside of measurement and experiment, only confusion results. Intuition does not describe objects of sensory experience. It is not a form of scientific description. If it is used in this sense, it becomes an escape-from-reality device which helps wishful thinkers find what they desire to find. This is the use of the term that is properly condemned,

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<sup>4</sup> Chapin, "The Relation of Sociometry to Planning in an Expanding Social Universe," *Sociometry*, 6:234-40, August, 1943.

because it leads over imperceptibly into clairvoyance, telepathy, premonitions, mystic insight, and similar delusions. But, on the other hand, if intuition is regarded as a process of thinking in which the purpose is explanation of dim memory, it may yield useful results. I would, therefore, define intuition as a process. The intuitive process consists of a convergence of as yet un verbalized experience (because only organically recorded) into a pattern of response below the threshold of critical attention; this pattern may then emerge in part, and, when verbalized, serves as a partial explanation of the problem which acted as the original stimulus. Intuition is then a judgment based on the convergence and integration of former impressions of memory into a pattern of explanation in which the perceptual details are not at the threshold of critical attention.

This definition has the merit of using as referents terms that stand for memories or images of past experience and thus takes the concept out of the purely linguistic type of referents and transfers it into an area of potential fact referents. Since it is known that intuitions sometimes lead to valid explanations and offer clues to eventual solution of problems (both practical and scientific), it would appear that this definition is serviceable.

Last of all, what is the relationship between the psychoanalytic field and scientific research? In answer, I can do no better than to quote Dr. Carney Landis, who has stated :

enough experimentally trained psychologists have subjected themselves to analysis and reported the process so that we now have a working basis for applying the scientific method to the psychological aspects of psychoanalysis.

We now know that there are three major themes in psychoanalysis which must be carefully kept separate in our thinking. First, psychoanalysis is a special form of therapy, that is, a method of healing; second, psychoanalysis is a recondite, theoretical, philosophical system very similar to a religion; and third, psychoanalysis is a relatively definable, repeatable, partially controlled psychological experiment during which a scientific

method of sorts is followed. I repeat, in order to think scientifically about psychoanalysis one must differentiate therapy, theory, and method.

Actually, all of psychoanalysis is oriented about therapy. This grows out of the historical fact that Freud's discovery which he called psychoanalysis was and is a psychotherapeutic procedure which produced beneficial results when applied to hysterical and neurotic patients. The chief medical interest in psychoanalysis remains in the therapeutic applications since therapy is the *raison d'être* of the physician.<sup>5</sup>

Now, in conclusion, we come to the third trend in social science research, namely, the application of experimental designs<sup>6</sup> to the evaluation of social programs. In 1931, Ellery Reed published his pioneering attempt at a scoring system for the evaluation of social case work.<sup>7</sup> In 1938, W. I. Newstetter and associates published their valuable monograph, *Group Adjustment: A Study in Experimental Sociology*.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, Mrs. Alice Leahy Shea had published, between 1932 and 1935, three brilliant studies in nature and nurture, based upon groups of adopted children and adoptive parents.<sup>9</sup> In 1934, S. C. Dodd published his remarkable book, *A Controlled Experiment in Rural Hygiene in Syria*, which is a model of its kind.<sup>10</sup> And in 1936, F. M. Thrasher published his study of boys' clubs and juvenile delinquency.<sup>11</sup> In 1937, in *Research Memo-*

<sup>5</sup> C. Landis, "Psychoanalysis and Scientific Method," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association*, 84:515-25, 1941, especially page 516.

<sup>6</sup> R. A. Fisher, *Design of Experiments* (Oliver & Boyd, 1937), 260 pp.; E. F. Lindquist, *Statistical Analysis in Educational Research* (Houghton Mifflin, 1940), 226 pp. (see pp. 80-84).

<sup>7</sup> E. F. Reed, "A Scoring System for the Evaluation of Social Case Work," *Social Service Review*, 5:214-36, June, 1931.

<sup>8</sup> W. I. Newstetter, M. J. Feldstein, and T. M. Newcomb, *Group Adjustment: A Study in Experimental Sociology* (Western Reserve University, School of Applied Social Science, 1938), 154 pp.

<sup>9</sup> A. M. Leahy, "A Study of Certain Selective Factors Influencing Prediction of Mental Status of Adopted Children," *Journal of General Psychology*, 41:294-329, December, 1932; "Some Characteristics of Adoptive Parents," *American Journal of Sociology*, 38:548-63, January, 1933; *Nature-Nurture and Intelligence*, "Genetic Psychology Monographs," 17:235-308, August, 1935 (see Ch. V, "Experimental Groups," pp. 269-81).

<sup>10</sup> S. C. Dodd, *A Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria* (American University of Beirut (Syria), Social Science Series, No. 7, 1934), 336 pp.

<sup>11</sup> F. M. Thrasher, "The Boys' Club and Juvenile Delinquency," *American Journal of Sociology*, 42:66-80, July, 1936.

*random on Social Work in the Depression*, jointly with S. A. Queen, I made the following evaluation of Thrasher's study.

One of the most interesting, elaborate and fair-minded attempts to evaluate the program of an agency is the study by Frederic M. Thrasher, "The Boys' Club and Juvenile Delinquency." Although ample funds and staff were available and many precautions were taken to make the study scientific, the results were somewhat indeterminate. In fact, the extensive program seemed not to prevent delinquency at all; perhaps it avoided joining issue with the real factors that may have promoted antisocial behavior. And yet, critics of the results of this study conclude that perhaps not sufficient time had been allowed to elapse for the club work to show its effect. In short, their conclusion is that the attempt to evaluate was made too soon after the program had started. It is not clear whether the factors of delinquency and truancy, set up as important tests of the program, had remained constantly defined throughout. This point shows the importance of developing reliable scales to measure these factors. This was not done in the Thrasher study. Another factor not adequately defined in the study was the factor of participation. Were the many and increasing cases of delinquency among members of the Boys' Club mere members or active participants in the program? The importance of membership in relation to delinquency or truancy would depend to some extent upon the kind of participation. In other words, participation was not measured. If it had been, the test results of the program might have been different. Furthermore, the reported decline in delinquency and truancy among the nonmembers of the club raises the question whether these individuals did not participate actively in other normal group relationships.

Whatever the precautions or omissions of the Thrasher study, it is evident that great difficulty is experienced in social experimentation in the midst of the social medium. Controls are difficult to obtain, and many complex factors intrude.

Many other studies could be cited, but time does not permit more than the mention of these few examples.

There is one concluding set of references, however, which I may be permitted to mention because of their presumed intrinsic interest to social workers. One of these is my own experimental study of personal adjustment and morale among a random sample of WPA workers matched



against a control group of general relief clients in St. Paul in 1939.<sup>12</sup> The other is an experimental study of the social effects of good housing.<sup>13</sup> In this a group of families in a public housing project in Minneapolis were matched against a group of similar families which remained in the slum. Measurements of both groups were made in 1939, and again one year later. While both groups showed improvement in adjustment, the families that resided in the project gained more during the year than did the slum group. Since these two studies have been published, you can examine them for what they are worth as demonstrations of using social scales to measure the effects of such social programs as a work relief program and a low-cost public housing program. Many difficulties still have to be surmounted in such studies. The results are by no means decisive,<sup>14</sup> and yet the trend of all these measurements is to support an appraisal, hitherto based on opinion, that such social programs are beneficial and worth while. Consequently, these studies may be suggestive to others. Since a careful account of costs was kept during each study, we can state that the entire cost of the WPA-Relief study was about \$1,000, and of the housing study about \$1,500, both figures being exclusive of such costs as my own time in supervision and the publication of the results in a sociological journal. These figures indicate that even such ambitious research efforts as those which attempt to appraise a social program in a particular locality are not very costly, and well within the range of expense which most schools of Social Work might incur.

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<sup>12</sup> F. S. Chapin and J. A. Jahn, "The Advantages of Direct Relief over Work Relief in Maintaining Morale in St. Paul in 1939," *American Journal of Sociology*, 46:13-22, July, 1940; Chapin, "Design for Social Experiments," *American Sociological Review*, 3:786-800, December, 1938.

<sup>13</sup> Chapin, "An Experiment on the Social Effects of Good Housing," *American Sociological Review*, 5:868-79, December, 1940.

<sup>14</sup> Chapin, "Some Problems in Field Interviews When Using the Control Group Technique in Studies in the Community," *ibid.*, 8:63-68, February, 1943.

And now, at long last, I come to my final word, because I hear some of you thinking again. Your query this time is, how do we know that this account of three trends in the development of social science research is right? I can find refuge from this challenge only by quoting the inimitable words of Billie Burke when she said, "I'm not always wrong, but I'm not far from it!"

## THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY

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● Wartime increases in juvenile delinquency have created a demand for the adoption of remedial measures.<sup>1</sup> In this connection, a significant development in recent years is the shift of emphasis from apprehending and rehabilitating the offender to outright *prevention* as a long-term policy. We have learned from experience that our juvenile courts and correctional institutions cannot perform miracles. Such agencies obviously have their limitations. Despite achievements which are commendable, there is evidence that they begin to function too late in the child's life to accomplish the best results.<sup>2</sup> Capitalizing upon the principle that prevention is better than cure, the modern approach calls for early diagnosis and treatment of personality disorders of maladjusted children. Similarly, as part of a comprehensive plan, it aims to remove those vicious environmental influences which are believed responsible for much adolescent misconduct.

Analysis of prevention programs in thirty-six metropolitan cities<sup>3</sup> discloses some striking resemblances. On the other hand, no two are exactly alike for the reason that no two local situations are identical. For the most part, similar agencies participate in typical setups from city to city. These are, for example, councils of social agencies, crime prevention bureaus of police departments, parent-

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<sup>1</sup> Juvenile court reports compiled by the U.S. Children's Bureau reveal a marked over-all increase in cases involving delinquency. It is admitted, however, that such data are not an index of the actual extent of delinquent behavior.

<sup>2</sup> See Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents*.

<sup>3</sup> Programs of the following cities furnished the background of this study: Akron, Baltimore, Birmingham, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Denver, Des Moines, Detroit, Hartford, Houston, Jersey City, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Louisville, Memphis, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New York, Norfolk, Oklahoma City, Omaha, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Providence, Richmond, St. Louis, St. Paul, Salt Lake City, San Diego, San Francisco, Seattle, Toledo, Washington, Worcester. The cooperation of the various officials of the foregoing cities is gratefully acknowledged.

teachers' associations, service clubs, schools, churches, and youth-serving organizations in general.

The strategy of prevention, at its best, requires extensive community planning. At its worst, it seems a perfunctory attempt to keep children out of trouble, through increased vigilance on the part of parents, teachers, and police.<sup>4</sup> Probably the modal program in American cities represents a middle course between the two extremes.

As yet, many plans are in the experimental stage; few have been in existence for more than a decade. Until there is opportunity to devise more scientific testing procedures than are available at present, it may be difficult to determine what projects and techniques are most effective.<sup>5</sup> As might be expected, there are differences of opinion on this point. But under the emergency conditions of wartime almost any type of program designed to aid youth receives approval, regardless of weaknesses due largely to the use of untrained supervisory personnel and to the lack of adequate facilities.

What may be considered of greater importance to the sociologist than the kind of program instituted is the unified approach to the problem so effectively demonstrated in many communities. Central committees set up to coordinate the work of various agencies illustrate how cooperative planning, with elimination of duplication, can increase efficiency. By serving as a clearinghouse for member groups, by keeping the public informed concerning its objectives, and by focusing attention upon areas of high delinquency risk, such a committee makes an invaluable contribution.

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<sup>4</sup> A Buffalo police official makes an interesting comment: "As far as the general public is concerned, all will agree that steps should be taken, but when steps are outlined to them they 'fold their tents like the Arabs, and as silently steal away.'"

<sup>5</sup> In wide use are curfew ordinances, with varying degrees of effectiveness. Community recreation centers for teen-age groups are popular. Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Boys' Clubs of America, and numerous social settlements and churches have expanded their programs to meet wartime needs, despite serious problems of personnel. To what extent they are reaching the mass of potential delinquents is a matter of conjecture.

On the whole, coordinating organizations created to mobilize community resources in the crusade against delinquency are characterized by flexibility. Emphases seem to vary according to conditions. Because of this lack of structural rigidity, adjustments to change are possible without the serious time lag so often observed in relation to agencies functioning independently. By utilizing the services of trained administrative, advisory, and research personnel, experimentation with such techniques of prevention as may have proved their worth elsewhere can be carried on to advantage in a given community.

1. *Coordinating councils.* From the standpoint of community organization, the coordinating council approach may well represent the most promising method of dealing with delinquency. These councils are intended to organize the community on a neighborhood basis so as to find a solution for common problems. The council itself is not another social agency. It enlists the cooperation of groups already working for the betterment of the community in a sustained drive toward definite objectives. *Viewed as a symptom of social disorganization having dangerous implications, delinquency thus becomes the object of a concerted attack from several directions in a movement which is but one phase of the total community program.*

Inasmuch as responsibility is apportioned with reference to natural locality groupings, it is feasible for the council to take advantage of favorable social-psychological factors, such as the appeal to community pride. As a result, one of the significant accompaniments of this approach is the growth of neighborhood consciousness, achieved largely by means of the very structure of the organization itself. Formation of neighborhood councils customarily precedes that of the central coordinating council, with the boundaries of high school districts determining the jurisdiction of the former. Subcouncils



are sometimes organized in elementary school districts. In this way, parents are contacted through their children, the school being the natural focal point about which many of the social activities of the neighborhood revolve.

Just as the neighborhood council coordinates the efforts of local groups in combating antisocial conduct, so the central council fosters cooperation on a city-wide basis. Representatives of various agencies in attendance at council meetings help to formulate a common strategy. Since each area is kept informed concerning conditions in other sections, it is practicable to so deploy available forces as to secure the best results with a minimum of duplication.

Among the urban communities emphasizing such an approach are Los Angeles, San Francisco,<sup>6</sup> San Diego, and Kansas City. New York, Philadelphia, and Minneapolis, among others, are using neighborhood councils to advantage. Regardless of the form that experiments in controlling delinquency assume at the outset, there seems an inevitable trend toward allocation of responsibility along neighborhood lines.

2. *Special services for youth.* Found with increasing frequency are organizations devoted to special preventive services, the majority of which are of comparatively recent origin. Exhibiting variety of type, they may confine themselves to promotional, planning, and coordinating activities, leaving the solution of operational problems to agencies familiar with detailed techniques in the field of prevention. Because there is no set pattern, they are best described by citing examples.

Jersey City has a Special Service Bureau, which functions primarily through the public school system in co-

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<sup>6</sup> The Berkeley council, in the Bay area, is said to have been started as early as 1919.

operation with law enforcement and welfare agencies. Every effort is made to identify problem children and to refer them to the proper institutions for treatment. The Bureau has access to psychological, psychiatric, medical, and dental clinics. Only in a small proportion of cases is there referral to the juvenile court. By using the schools as community centers, and by means of an expanded recreational program, an effort is made to place the leisure-time activities of children under close supervision.

Kansas City created a new Division of Community Service as part of its Welfare Department. Under the community council setup, the Division sends trained workers into each of several high school districts, in addition to others assigned to scattered Negro communities. Cincinnati has made delinquency prevention a function of its Bureau of Social Service for more than a decade. It is noteworthy that both the Bureau and the Division of Police are parts of the Department of Public Safety. Philadelphia has a Crime Prevention Association, a fact-finding, promotional, and coordinating body. Hartford has a Wartime Recreation Committee, representing the Council of Social Agencies and the Hartford War Council. Memphis has a Youth Service Council, sponsored by the Gavel Club; Minneapolis, a Citizens' Committee on Youth; Baltimore, a Youth Commission; Detroit, a Youth Guidance Committee, in addition to a timely Inter-Racial Committee. Many other examples could be cited, but the foregoing are sufficiently illustrative of the trend.

3. *Law enforcement agencies.* It seems unfortunate that the police have been handicapped heretofore in curbing delinquency, owing to a number of factors. The traditional emphasis upon "enforcement" instead of "prevention," lack of a clear definition of the duties of policemen in relation to juveniles suspected of being delinquents, the humiliation suffered by parents whose children were

known to be under police surveillance, and misunderstanding of the officers' motives by youth itself made progress difficult at first.

Despite a strong feeling in some quarters that other agencies are better qualified to handle problem cases, it is well to remember that the police have the resources to do a good job of delinquency control. They are familiar with the breeding places of crime. They know when the youth are in the company of hardened criminals. Through appropriate referral services, a first offender can be placed in contact with group or casework agencies capable of undertaking the task of rehabilitation. Because first impressions may prove crucial, a socially minded officer<sup>7</sup> can do much to win the confidence of such a child, with the aim of helping him as a friend.

During the past twenty years, police departments in many cities have established crime prevention bureaus. Special units working with juveniles have broadened the scope of their activities in recent months. That constructive results have been attained in this way is beyond question, judging by the official reports. Perhaps the most widely publicized project in this field is the PAL, or Police Athletic League, in New York City. It is sponsored by the Juvenile Aid Bureau in conjunction with the Precinct Coordinating Councils. The PAL appears to have been successful in ushering in a new era of police-youth relations, with resultant reduction of crime.

4. *Experimental projects.* Typifying the experimental approach, the Chicago Area Project was set up under the auspices of the Division for Delinquency Prevention and the Institute for Juvenile Research of the Illinois Department of Public Welfare. Organizations are developed on an indigenous basis, with the local community taking the initiative in the selection and training of leaders. By 1944,

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<sup>7</sup> See Eliot Ness, "New Role of the Police," *Survey Midmonthly*, March, 1944.

experimental programs were being conducted in six localities, the oldest of which had been started more than ten years earlier. Significant decreases in delinquency were observed in some areas, while the figures from other neighborhoods were inconclusive. Dr. Clifford Shaw, who is in charge of the project, emphasizes a point that seems to warrant further study:

It is our belief that when these activities embody the interests, efforts, and common purposes of the local residents that they take on a moral and social significance which they do not possess when they are operated solely by interests outside the community.<sup>8</sup>

Certainly, if responsible, nonprofessional leadership can be found within the community itself, it ought to be a decided advantage to all concerned. But Shaw notes that "the most common characteristic of those urban areas which have high rates of delinquency is low economic status." If this be true, the long-term remedy will involve improvement of economic and social conditions, in addition to systematic preventive services.

*Conclusion.* The war period has witnessed the growth of organizations to prevent delinquency, with emphasis upon a coordinated approach. Although it is too early to evaluate the effectiveness of specific programs, there is no doubt that the awakened community consciousness in relation to antisocial behavior will result in postwar demands for widespread preventive services.

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<sup>8</sup> From report submitted to Board of Directors, January 10, 1944.

## SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS TO MILITARISM

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● Myriad problems of adjustment face the recruit as he begins to acquire the behavior patterns of a well-disciplined soldier.<sup>1</sup> He finds himself living in a social atmosphere quite different from civilian surroundings, for he sees his comrades all dressed alike, speaking a language virtually unique to the army, and accepting orders rather than initiating them. In short, the recruit must cope with social situations demanding adjustments that are artificial, involuntary, and persistent. Inasmuch as high morale is dependent largely on satisfactory adjustment, it may be quite worth while to observe how the soldier learns to adjust himself to the routine and values of army life.

*Satisfactory adjustments.* One of the best ways of adjusting to the army is through conscientious work and activity. The soldier who discovers in the army something worthy of his attention has one of the important keys to military adjustment. By learning the intricate details of his assignment, the enlisted man consumes time that otherwise might be devoted to brooding, dreaming, or drinking. He soon learns that if he has a certain fund of information about a rifle, a radio, or a particular radar set, such information can serve well as conversational ammunition. Keen discussions may develop spontaneously concerning the rival merits of particular weapons, and frequently these discussions become so involved with physics and ballistics that the participants neglect to realize that the weapon is used to inflict death. A discussion on the most efficient ways

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<sup>1</sup> On leave and at present an occupational counselor, War Department Personnel Center, Separation Center, Fort Leavenworth. None of the statements in this article necessarily reflect the official attitude of the army, but are merely the observations of the author.



of killing the enemy is not pleasant; however, a technological debate on the range and characteristics of a certain caliber rifle can be challenging and impersonal. Thus, discussions and interests focused on the details of military equipment and procedures may serve well to relegate morbid stereotypes of battle conditions to the background.

A concomitant factor arising from an alert interest in the assigned military task is that rapid promotions may result. To be recognized as a competent technician offers status and initiates the process of climbing the noncommissioned officer's rungs. In addition to the higher status resulting from commanding a responsible job, the soldier finds himself so concerned and worried about the problems of those under his supervision that he has little time to reflect on personal anxieties and the hours slip away almost unnoticed. If, on the other hand, the enlisted man's interests in the army are motivated merely by a desire to gain status as a goal in itself, the men in the company may define him as a soldier who is "stripe happy." Nevertheless, the term, as berating as it may suggest, does attest to a certain harmony and adjustment to the army.

Again, activity may be stimulated if the soldier's job in the army is related to what he did as a civilian worker, or the job in the army may be the type of work he would like to do in the postwar period. For instance, the former employee of a telephone company, if he finds himself in the Signal Corps, has as many possibilities as he has potentialities to learn the skills and science of wire and wireless communication. The alert soldier who learns the latest technics developed by the army realizes that he may have a decided advantage over many of his civilian competitors. The deferred values of learning in the army an occupation with favorable postwar possibilities are almost certain to mean satisfactory military adjustment. A reasonably high percentage of military occupations have

either postwar transfers as full-time jobs or at least suggest interesting hobbies. Well-organized orientation lectures are needed in some instances to present the opportunities the army offers by way of sound vocational training.

A few soldiers will admit that by keeping busy they are better able to "forget" their problems. There are examples of soldiers volunteering to work Christmas Eve in the mess hall because such activity may help them to forget that perhaps only last Christmas they were playing with their children, not as soldiers but as fathers. Within normal limitations almost any type of vocational activity in the army can be considered as a means of adjustment.

*Passive acceptance.* Another way of adjusting to the army and wars is by defining the routine of the army in a very philosophical manner. Some of the soldiers who evince this philosophical adjustment to militarism seem to have a keen sense of humor. While these soldiers may seem somewhat introverted, they are characterized by an observing sense of proportion. Their attitudes are to some extent reflected in the following statements: "I can take the army as well as the next soldier," or "They cannot make the army too tough for me." This docile and yet vindictive attitude is not indicative of high morale, and thus may amount to little more than an endurance test, a test tinged with fatalism. Passively accepting the army is an admission that one soldier cannot change the army; hence, conformity seems to be the only adjustment.

*Adjustments through interests.* The inherent values in recreation and outside interests are well recognized by military leaders as significant factors aiding military adjustment. One of the most prevalent adjustments to the army comes through reading; yet, this type of adjustment while essentially the same for all participants does vary as shown by an examination of the content of the selected literature. As a result, there are marked levels of reading

interest which are in part related to the educational backgrounds and ambitions of the readers.

Escape literature, as might be expected, has found a large following in the army. At present there are more than forty magazines featuring a variety of comic type escapisms. These magazines require a minimum vocabulary and a short interest span. Periodicals such as *Life* and *Reader's Digest* have only a limited place in the barracks when compared with the comic type, as the following statement so well reveals: "At army post exchanges, comic books outsell *Life*, *Reader's Digest*, and *Saturday Evening Post*—ten to one."<sup>2</sup> Not all the soldiers, of course, read the comic type magazines for the escapism presented; some mechanically minded soldiers are intrigued by the pseudo science and ingenuity of the creators. Nevertheless, escapism as a means of adjustment is certainly aided by these comic books.

Perhaps next in importance to the comic type literature are the pocket-size editions of mystery books and current best sellers. It is astonishing the amount of reading some of the avid readers accomplish in a month. A sight not uncommon is to see a soldier reading one of these compact novels while waiting for a formation or on a break. A few chapters may be read in a day, and the "spare" moments of the soldier are thus consumed in reading rather than in worrying and complaining. He finds himself in more interesting situations than in contemplating guard duty or K.P. for the next day.<sup>3</sup>

Correspondence serves an important place in the total adjustment of the soldier to the army. Perhaps no daily formation in the army is so eagerly attended as mail call. Letters from home, besides giving the soldier the latest community news, indirectly inform him that his service

<sup>2</sup> *Time Magazine*, 44:87, December 18, 1944.

<sup>3</sup> A few soldiers may be studying law in their free time or completing some college courses under the USAFI plan.

in the army is only temporary and upon termination of hostilities he will be able to become an active part of the interests and lives of his loved ones. Letters from home can build hope for tomorrow in addition to relating news of family members and reporting community gossip with avidity.

In isolated areas overseas or in the states letter writing seems to flourish, and it tends to diminish whenever the soldier finds himself near a great metropolitan area. A private made the following observation: "Whenever I have no money and no place to go, I write letters. It isn't too long until I'm happy trying to make the folks at home believe I am enjoying all my experiences in the army. I get a kick out of writing a good letter." There is no question that a certain amount of creative writing emerges from the pens of soldiers. Not only are long letters written filled with humor and quotations from fellow soldiers, but there may be the challenge of the official censor. In general, letters from those in more unfortunate military situations and areas tend to make the soldier in training better able to adjust to his lot.<sup>4</sup>

Other rather obvious interests which serve to adjust the soldier to his free time and associates are the following: billiards, bowling, ping-pong, pool, and a variety of card games. On troop movements it is a common sight to see soldiers gambling, not for the monetary gains, but as a pastime and to keep their minds so occupied with the game that they have little time to think of their destination, which in some cases may be a port of embarkation.

Army post theaters serve an important place in the adjustment of soldiers, and for a nominal charge of fifteen cents the latest and biggest productions from Hollywood may be seen. These shows take the soldier away from

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<sup>4</sup> The importance of correspondence is attested by the fact that members of the armed services are permitted to frank all first-class mail. The franking privilege is not only a monetary saving but a great convenience to the soldier.

thoughts of drill and battle and bring him vivid memories of civilian life. Escape motion pictures are about as popular with soldiers as with civilians, although the audience of soldiers is probably more critical and extroverted.<sup>5</sup> Attendance at military theaters helps the soldier adjust to the army by facing reality from an oblique angle. In addition to the motion pictures shown at post theaters, shows featuring prominent Hollywood celebrities, in person, greatly aid in boosting the morale of military personnel. Hollywood has gone almost literally to the four corners of the earth to bring a smile and a laugh to our soldiers.

As might be expected, organized recreation such as football, baseball, volley ball, and tennis is quite prominent. Considerable interest is stimulated in these intramural contests, and camp newspapers are read carefully for news of the final scores and individual playing achievements of participants. These games, when played between officers and enlisted men, tend to make known that without their official uniforms human nature at play is much the same. This attitude of understanding not only makes the game enjoyable but often carries over to the new day of official duty. Natural respect for the leaders of the military team is a valuable outcome of recreation.

Chaplains, in addition to their religious work, are professional adjusters of soldiers to the army. Perhaps no person in the army knows more about the complaints, hardships, weaknesses, and worries of the enlisted man than the army chaplain. For a large percentage of soldiers church attendance, prayers, and the reading of sacred literature aid greatly in ameliorating their feelings of loneliness and worry. To some soldiers the church is looked upon as their only true friend. The soldier hears a representative of his faith give purpose to life and speak

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<sup>5</sup> It may be of interest to recall that Lewis Mumford has described motion pictures as mere public daydreams.



of a way of life greater than the necessary routine and function of the army. A chaplain may present the perspective and thought that life at best is just a long furlough and that eternity must be prepared for with earnestness. Petty worries are solved in the chaplain's study, but the serious problems of the soldier are given careful consideration by the chaplain, who may recommend a course of action which company officers and those concerned will respect. One chaplain invited all soldiers to visit him with the following statement: "Come in and tell us your problems—if you do not have any problems, tell us how you do it!"

*External conformity and internal conflict.* There are a few quasi adjustments to military situations that are on the whole satisfactory neither to the soldier nor to the army. Many of the persons in this category have almost neurotic propensities and need expert guidance if they are to be salvaged and trained. The somewhat neurotic soldier may declare that the army way of life is driving him insane; and, as a result of this definition, he feels very bitter and thoroughly chagrined. He is supersensitive to the foibles of his superiors and delights in dramatizing their errors and overt shortcomings. He may ridicule the objectives of the war and the means used to attain the goals. He lacks zest and does just enough to get by. He merely goes through the motions of external conformity, and thus performs his duties in an irritating and spiritless fashion. While he is not insubordinate to his superiors, he is a disturbing element to all. He exercises, marches, drills, and performs his duties with a careless conformity that necessitates the alert eye of his superiors.

*Open nonconformity.* Unfortunately, there are a few soldiers who cannot or will not adjust themselves to the discipline and life of the army, and, thereby, make no effort to veil their feelings. These soldiers know to what extent they can go as nonconformists and how the soldier may gain protection from chaplains and medical officers.

One of the most conspicuous ways of revolting against the army is to be a regular visitor to the dispensary for every real and imagined illness. It is rather difficult, of course, for a line officer to discourage this habit, since illness must be treated as a medical problem. If the soldier has a slight cold, a mild headache, or an innocuous foot ailment, he is almost certain to be a patient at the dispensary. He insists on describing conditions that may need further examinations and by so doing manages to miss valuable training. He is the type of soldier who has made up his mind not to adjust to the army, and to deal with him is a perplexing and an individual problem. A few company commanders have salvaged such soldiers by assigning them a responsible task. However, under great pressure and the necessity for quick results, all this is a time-consuming responsibility for officers.

Some soldiers assume nonconformity as a role, hoping to be discharged from the service as being inapt or ill. They know that it is an obdurate problem for the medical officer or any other person in authority to be certain that soldiers are "riding the sick book."<sup>6</sup> Naturally, any soldier who attempts to evade military service by such means has little status in the eyes of his comrades. Fortunately the number of soldiers who attempt to evade their responsibilities is very small.

There are other adjustments of open revolt. Some negative-minded soldiers adopt the role of wisecracker, are late for formations, and are never quite in uniform. No matter what punishment is assigned, this type of soldier assumes the role of indifference. Some soldiers in this category believe that nonconformity and greatness are in some way related; hence, they fail to appreciate the fact that under combat conditions the military machine is com-

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<sup>6</sup> The term "riding the sick book" implies that the soldier will persistently have his name recorded on the company sick book and become known as a nonconformist. He magnifies a real illness, and for an imagined illness purports to the medical officer: "You cannot X-ray a pain, can you?"

posed of fighting teams of cooperators, each member being interdependent on the cooperative spirit of the group as a whole.

In summary, a brief depiction has been made of the means of satisfactory military adjustment, the characteristics of passive adjustment, the place of supplementary interests as aids to military adjustment, and the problems caused by quasi- and poorly adjusted soldiers to the army. Perhaps the amazing phenomenon of military adjustment is that persons with diverse cultural backgrounds, varied interests and abilities, different moral standards can be thrown together and under the exigency of a national emergency adjust themselves so well to one another—to say nothing of the adjustment to military discipline.

## NEGRO-WHITE RACE EXPERIENCES

### Informal Notes

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#### I

● Perhaps my first intimate contact with a white person occurred just after I had graduated from high school. I had had a minor operation and on being returned to my room found that there was a white girl occupying the other bed. She was still under the influence of anesthesia, but when she awakened we began to talk to each other. Later she confided to me that when she really became awake she was afraid to open her eyes, because she did not know whether she really was in the room with a Negro or whether she had only been having a horrible dream. A day or so later, when some of her friends came in, they indignantly inquired why she had permitted them to put her in the room with a "nigger." My new friend angrily told them she disliked having me referred to in that way. They could only observe her in amazement, for I was the only Negro with whom "Marjorie" had ever spoken a dozen words.

The sojourn of each of us in the hospital developed from weeks into months, during which time our friendship continued to grow. I was a complete bed patient, but Marjorie was ambulatory. She was moved from my room but spent several hours daily there. When she had quarrels with the nurses or attendants, she came weeping to my room. Our mutual attachment over a period of months attracted the attention of the nurses and the patients. Even she herself could not understand it, and one day laughingly wondered if perhaps she had Negro blood too.

## II

An intensely interesting experience developed during my undergraduate days. On entering a particular class, I was assigned a seat in alphabetical order. The instructor had announced that no seats would be held for absent members of the class; so, when the girl whose name followed mine proved to be absent, the next girl in order should have taken the seat next to mine. She failed to do this, and took the next seat, leaving the one by me vacant. The instructor did not notice this action but continued seating the students. Under the circumstances each of the remaining students was one seat out of line. At the next class session some one complained about the seating. The instructor quickly went down his list and found everyone in his seat until he arrived at the seat next to me. Without further ado he instructed the student to take the seat. She did so, but remained as far over to one side of it as possible. The thought flitted bitterly through my mind that she must think I was some kind of germ. The next day she dropped the course.

The following semester I again was in a class with her, but because of her very dear friend who had already established a friendly relationship with me, she gradually began to talk to me and overcame her aversion to sitting next to me in class. Later she became increasingly friendly and would stop on occasion for a short chat with me. This girl obviously held hostile attitudes toward the Negro, although in our brief contacts she seemingly overcame some of them.

## III

My friendship with a social worker in \_\_\_\_\_ has probably been my most satisfying experience with a member of the Caucasian group. Our friendship began with our mutual work with a group of Negro high school girls and carried over until today we have a warm vital



relationship. Although we have had some extremely frank discussions on every phase of the race question, I have never told her (and perhaps never shall) of the suspicion with which I viewed her first overtures of friendship. Like the average Negro in regarding friendships between Negroes and white people, I was prone to impute ulterior motives to any friendly advances from the other group. It is only recently that I have allowed myself to admit that her friendship for me was genuine and sincere. It was through her that I have lately met two other stimulating personalities, a Negro reporter and a German refugee, who share an apartment. As one can imagine, they have had some sensational experiences. A case in point occurred recently when "Mary," the Negro girl, and "Jean," the German girl, shopped together and the clerk remarked to Jean how fortunate she was to have a maid when "help" was so difficult to obtain. It is easy to appreciate the clerk's consternation when Jean revealed that Mary was her roommate.

Mary related an interesting incident which shows how prejudice in social activities works both ways. Mary, the reporter, was asked to attend a prominent Negro affair because those in charge hoped for a bit of free publicity. She asked if she might bring a friend and was given permission, but when she arrived there with Jean she was asked if she could not arrange to get rid of the white girl. Mary indignantly protested that Jean was her friend and that she would have to leave unless Jean was allowed to remain. They both left. They receive the same stares of curiosity in a Negro group that my friend and I receive when we appear in restaurants or theaters downtown.

#### IV

Probably my most exciting adventure in race relations began when I became a graduate student. In my first conferences with my social work adviser, she made the state-

ment that perhaps more actual knowledge of what the social work process involved would be learned over the coffee tables through spontaneous exchanges by the students than would be learned in the classroom. This idea rather appalled me, for I felt I would hardly have opportunity for this type of exchange. Here I was mistaken, for I found that many of the students were accepting me and made a point (studied or otherwise) of including me in their groups that met at various spots about the campus or field work agency. As I knew that there were several students from the South in the group, I was curious as to what their reactions would be if I was invited to join the group for coffee or lunch when they were present.

One girl, whom I shall call "Ann," particularly interested me. I knew she was from South Carolina and I would often glance up to find her watching me in a questioning manner. As it happened, we were assigned to the same field work agency. I soon learned that she had said she did not want any Negro clients, that she knew Negroes were inferior in all ways to whites, that she felt she had nothing to offer them and they could offer her nothing. When she found that she would have to accept Negro clients in her case load, she then said she could not address them as Mr. and Mrs. All these factors strike me as being especially significant in view of the fact that since that time we have been able to develop a friendly relationship. Being aware of her attitude toward Negroes, I was quite surprised to find her selecting a desk next to mine at the beginning of the Spring Term. Although I had been in groups in which we had lunched together, she herself had never invited me to join her for a cup of coffee or for lunch as she often did the other students. Thus I received my next surprise when she asked me to join her one morning. We had gone out together two or three times when Ann said that she did not quite understand what was tak-

ing place but that she seemed to be undergoing a profound upheaval in her thinking on the race problem. Ann is a very intelligent girl, who appeared to be quite puzzled by her acceptance of me. She said it was through knowing me that it had even occurred to her that perhaps there was a little more to the race question than she knew. She had lived in the South where a set pattern in race relations is followed. She had grown up with the pattern and had not thought of questioning the inherent "rightness" of the race etiquette that prevailed. It was only since she had been away from the South that she had been able to see the problem in its right perspective.

Many conversations have followed this one. Once when we were eating together Ann remarked that I would probably be surprised to learn that I was the first Negro with whom she had ever eaten. I casually said that I was not surprised but that I wondered if she felt as though she had suffered any loss of status. Ann replied that she didn't feel that she had lost status but hastily added that she felt her feeling toward me would not carry over to other Negroes. I asked her if this feeling could not be a result of the fact that she did not personally know any other educated Negroes and that perhaps it was not too unlikely there were many Negroes whom she would find stimulating and interesting. Ann could not accept this thought yet and insisted that she doubted there would be a carry-over. Intellectually she was able to accept the thought, but emotionally she could not at this point accept the implications.

In my relationships with members of the Caucasian group, I have been able to establish such a relationship that they feel free to speak frankly. I encourage this attitude by honestly admitting that I can realize how the average white person feels about the Negro. Having grown in objectivity to this point, I can go a step further

and realize that race prejudice is more than just a matter of geographical location. As a sidelight I might add that the Negro who lives away from the South is likely to feel that all Southern white persons are hostile to the Negro and that white people in other sections are likely to be more friendly. I repeat, having grown in objectivity, I have been able to see and to explain to others that the South has a sound reason for the tension and strain that result when the Negro becomes restless with his lot and attempts to "usurp" some of the privileges and rights to which his American birthright should entitle him. This fact was borne home recently when I joined a white woman at lunch. After some hesitancy on both sides, we became engaged in the usual discussion of the race situation. In reply to her remark that she could not understand how the white people in the South could be so unjust to Negroes, I replied, I am afraid not too tactfully, that the South was not the only place where the Negro received injustice; that perhaps one might be too prone to place the blame on the South because the large concentration of Negroes there gave more focus to the problem. I remarked further that one noted the increase of hostility toward the Negro in Northern communities as the numbers of Negroes increased there. One might say that the difference in attitudes in the two sections is one of degree rather than of kind and that as the pressure of Negroes begins to be felt in any community there begins to be felt increased tensions and strains with the resultant segregation and discrimination that mark the social, political, and economic setting, particularly in the South.

These several experiences have been most stimulating to me, and I have selected them from among others because they seem to indicate to me that there can be tremendous changes in attitudes if the soil is made ready. It is probably very certain that a Negro could not develop

such relationships in those regions where the white man asserts that the Negro is inferior; that he is fit only for manual labor; that he has no rights that are inherent, which "a white man is bound to respect," that anything done for him is a gratuity; that he must not associate with white people; and that any white person who associates with Negroes thereby puts himself not on a plane with Negroes but far beneath them. Most of the experiences that I have cited concerned people who lag behind in accepting these beliefs and who showed in themselves an ability to develop a change in attitudes.

They were able to see that the Negro is not different from the white man even though they live in a singular human relationship to each other. Because the Negro is so far in the minority, his place has been determined by the white majority group which holds practically all the social, economic, and political power. Because the Negro is a suppressed minority, he has found it expedient to play on the vacillating and conflicting values held by the white group.

The following paragraph from Gunnar Myrdal's fine work *An American Dilemma* seems to sum up the race problem in America in a few well-chosen words:

The Negro problem is an integral part of, or a special phase of, the whole complex of problems in the larger American civilization. It cannot be treated in isolation for there is no single side of the Negro problem, whether it be the Negro's political status, the education he gets, his place in the labor market, his cultural and personality traits or anything else, that is not predominantly determined by the total American setting.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, Harper & Brothers, 1944.



## ITALO-AMERICANS AND WORLD WAR II

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● When World War II started, four and a half million first- and second-generation Italians were divided into three groups: a small articulate well-financed minority of Fascists, a small articulate minority of anti-Fascists, and in between a large number of men and women sentimentally and ineffectually pro-Fascist.<sup>1</sup> The latter group's societies took somewhat the same attitude, according to *Il Mondo*, as did the code of the order of the Sons of Italy: "to instill a double patriotic love for both their adopted country and their country of origin."<sup>2</sup> At the outbreak of hostilities the pro-Fascist elements were, of course, furiously anti-British<sup>3</sup> and anti-French. It is needless to say that they were against American intervention.

As far as the masses of the Italo-Americans were concerned, in the months preceding the declaration of war against Italy (or by Italy against the United States), there was not much enthusiasm by the Italo-Americans for the struggle.<sup>4</sup> Nearly three fourths of the Italians in the North End of Boston felt that "This is not America's war," while less than 10 per cent felt that America had a part to play in defeating fascism. In a community strongly organized by the Democratic party it was significant that one third of the people disapproved of President Roosevelt merely because of his foreign policy, while another third (mostly

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<sup>1</sup> Max Ascoli, "On the Italian Americans," *Common Ground*, 31:45-49; Constantine Panunzio, "Italian Americans, Fascism, and the War," *Yale Review*, 31:771-82, is an excellent survey of the historical evolution of the attitudes of the Italo-Americans during the fascist years.

<sup>2</sup> *Il Mondo* (September, 1940), cited by Alfred M. Lee, "Subversive Individuals of Minority Status," *Annals*, 223:165.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, Luigi Criscuolo, *An Italo-American Looks at Britain: An Open Letter to His Excellency The Rt. Hon. Lord Halifax, British Ambassador at Washington* (New York: Author, 1941).

<sup>4</sup> Jeanette Sayre Smith, "Broadcasting for Marginal Americans," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, pp. 6:588-603, covers the Italians of the North End of Boston.

recipients of federal aid) approved of his internal, but not of his external, policies. When asked to name the men they admired most in the world today, only a fourth of the group named the President, while almost half named Lindbergh and/or Senator Wheeler. Some admired Mussolini most, but Coughlin, Toscanini, and Joe DiMaggio were more popular than he. About a third of the group admired the Pope most.

Obviously, this group of American Italians,

afraid, insecure, hemmed in by a community they find strange, . . . retreated from the conflict. Four out of every five thought Italian-Americans had a harder time getting jobs than people from other countries. (They often told specific tales of discrimination.) They felt that war would mean a further discrimination against them. In their feelings of insecurity they have sentimentally glorified Italy in their minds, though not necessarily Mussolini or the Fascist regime, and they hated to see this allegiance challenged. And finally, many have come here to escape persecution abroad. They want no more trouble here. As one remarked, "I came to this country for peace, and all I get is war, war, war!"<sup>5</sup>

In general, the American Italians were torn (as other foreign-born citizens) by conflicts inherent in their situation as individuals and as groups burdened with "divided loyalties." These conflicts have been aggravated by the war; for then rises the problem of allegiance, which is made more difficult by the contrast between Old World and New World folkways. The conflicts are not on an abstract ideological plane. On the whole, the Italo-Americans were not interested in broad ideological considerations, but in such specific matters as the possibility of their sons fighting against the old country, the specter of discrimination against Italians in America, the Alien Registration Act, or the comments of hostile critics of Italian Americans.

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 589. It ought to be noted that these people read only predominantly pro-Fascist press; of those who read an English paper, 87 per cent read an isolationist paper.

Among the younger generation of American-born Italians the general attitude toward Italy's dilemma was one of disinterestedness. Most of the young persons regarded Mussolini as a remote "bag of wind who talks too much." They read the daily newspapers and viewed Italy's problems with complete detachment except for the fact, as one young Italian declared, that "the old folks seem to be taking these military defeats pretty hard. They refuse to believe what they read in the papers. A lot of them still believe Mussolini can conquer the world."<sup>6</sup> In stores, barbershops, and neighborhood clubs, however, the talk was less and less of Italy and her war, and generally a mention of Italy's fortunes of war brought only a wisecrack or a stony silence. Strangely, however, the chief supporters of Mussolini were found among the Sicilians in the section, although *Il Duce* had never been a popular name in Sicilian quarters, because of his liquidation of the Mafia of Sicily early in his regime. Those whose parents and grandparents came here from Naples, Rome, Genoa, Palermo, and Venice described this phenomenon as indicative of the Sicilian temperament, "which is not often concerned with logic."

The subsequent phases of World War II in Europe induced a constantly growing number of Italians in America to look on the glories of fascism with a slightly jaundiced eye. Some of Mussolini's earlier admirers became lukewarm following the reversal of Fascist fortunes in Africa, the Greek victory in Albania, and British bombing of Italian ports. Many Italians began telling inquiring reporters that Mussolini was more of a Fascist than an Italian, and his picture began to come down off the walls of Italian barbershops and fruit stores.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> "Little Italy Sours on Duce and War," *New York Times*, February 9, 1941.

Unfortunately, however, most American Italians looked for a mirage: American victory without Italian defeat. The articulate anti-Fascists (labor unions with preponderantly Italian membership like Luigi Antoninin's New York Local 89 of the I.L.G.W.U., and political clubs like the Mazzini Society) were probably the only elements who made up their minds before the invasion of Sicily that only American victory without qualification could be the answer to the Italian problem. But many Italian politicians who had been swept to positions of power with the support of Fascist consulates or of Fascist institutions were resentful of the leaders of the Mazzini Society, founded and led mainly by recent political immigrants. Thus a small but rather well-entrenched minority was able, behind a screen of "loyalty declarations," to use Italian newspapers and radio stations for their pro-Mussolini propaganda.<sup>8</sup> All Italo-American daily newspapers were pro-Fascist as long as there was a chance for American isolation; but Pearl Harbor made them turn to a tongue-in-the-cheek one-hundred-per-cent Americanism; Italian language radio stations followed suit.<sup>9</sup>

At the same time, the Mazzini Society attempted to accelerate the anti-Mussolini trend; and so did the liberal Italian New York monthly, *Il Mondo*, and the Italian-American Labor Council. In July, 1943, the nation-wide American Committee for Italian Democracy, under Supreme Court Justice Ferdinand Pecora, was formed "to unify all Italo-Americans behind the United States Government in the task of eliminating Italy from the Axis and helping the Italians to restore democracy."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Gaetano Salvemini, *Italian Fascist Activities in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941); Joseph S. Roucek, "Foreign-Language Press in World War II," *Sociology and Social Research*, 27:462-71.

<sup>9</sup> John Norman, "Repudiation of Fascism by the Italian-American Press," *Journalism Quarterly*, 21:1-6.

<sup>10</sup> *New York Times*, July 27, 1943.

With the disappearance of Mussolini from the political scene of Italy in 1943, the Mazzini Society issued a statement hailing his passing, but declaring that the records of both Marshal Pietro Badoglio, the new Italian Premier, and the King of Italy were "not such as to inspire confidence in the new set-up." Subsequent repercussions of Mussolini's exit was a "wild demonstration" in New York's Cooper Union, where 1,600 Italian-Americans met to

urge the people of Italy to throw off the Fascist yoke and lay down their arms to save the nation . . . The audience whistled and cheered, hooted and howled, and stood in the aisles and on the chairs, waving their hands madly in the V sign for victory. Many of the older folk shed unrestrained tears down smile-wreathed faces . . . In the back of the hall someone struck up the Garibaldi hymn and it swept the crowd in a growing crescendo until the hall rang to the stirring music . . . The meeting adopted the resolution calling upon President Roosevelt, and Prime Minister Churchill, to utilize anti-Fascist elements of the Italian population in setting up the provisional Italian government, to suspend royal authority and to liberate political prisoners.<sup>11</sup>

The desertions from the Fascist ranks continued as the Allied forces neared Italy. At the end of August, 1943, the two factions of the Order of Sons of Italy, that came into being with a split in the New York state organization in 1925 over the issue of fascism, reunited 10,000 members by the efforts of Edward Corsi, former Immigration Commissioner.

By and large, the largest group of the Italo-Americans do not understand this war even today. They are mixed up, because for many years they had been taught that Mussolini was the old country's benefactor — a point which, we must be fair to admit, was frequently propounded by numerous spokesmen of American public opinion. The additional complications came in by virtue of the fact that

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<sup>11</sup> "Rally Here Hails Mussolini's Fall," *New York Times*, July 29, 1943.



the newspapers of Generoso Pope, after years of praise for fascism, could turn around and devote themselves to the cause of liberty—something which makes the average Italo-American suspicious of America's tolerant democracy. Frequent jokes at the expense of the "fighting" qualities of the Italians<sup>12</sup> added up to the bewilderment and resentfulness of this American citizen.

The gradual conquest of Italy by the Allied armies has, however, intensified the tendency among the American Italians to concern themselves less with the old country's problems and more with the future of their adopted land. As one Bulberry Street businessman who has been in this country forty years explained it:<sup>13</sup>

When Mussolini united Italy, chased out the Black Hand, and put everybody to work, that was good. He made a nice army and the boys marched well, even the little *bambinos*. Then came the war and Hitler. Mussolini got too big for his hat and the soldiers put away their hats with the feathers and put on the iron hats and were killed. That is bad. So now we Italians laugh . . . a little bit sad, maybe . . . and say it was all a big joke. But we know why we come here to be Americans.

Statistics indicate that the Italians in this country have given the United States government very little trouble. The figures derived from the alien enemy identification program show that the Italians have the largest proportion of aliens in America (599,111 Italians, 263,930 Germans, and 47,963 Japanese), but of the 11,372 alien enemies taken into custody between December, 1941, and September, 1942, on suspicion of endangering the national security, and of which 3,617 were interned, only 228 belonged to the Italians (1,228 to Germans, 2,151 to Japanese, 2 to Rumanians, 7 to Hungarians, and 1 to Bul-

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<sup>12</sup> Exemplified by such a joke as: The new Italian tanks are now equipped with three gears for the backing purposes—and with one forward gear—should the enemy attack from the rear.

<sup>13</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*

garians). This enabled Attorney General Francis Biddle to announce on October 12, 1942 (Columbus Day), that all these unnaturalized Italians would be freed from the stigma of being alien enemies of the United States—a gesture designed to split the Axis.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> According to Sgt. Eugene P. Healy, "The Men Who Make the Future," *Saturday Review of Literature*, 25:21, reporting on the army life: "One curious thing I notice is that in all the soldier talk you hear the Italians are never referred to as our enemies. Occasionally, but surprisingly seldom, the Germans are spoken of angrily, hatefully. But for the Japanese always, everyday in every tent and barracks there are words of bitter, angry hate, a yearning for revenge and punishment, on the lips of every soldier."

## PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION

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● A new kind of proposition is before the people of the United States for decision. Peacetime conscription has been considered contrary to American democratic principles and practices. Now, at the time that the United States is considering entry into a world security and peace-making organization, the question of conscripting all able-bodied young men for one year of training "for combat duty" comes to the fore. Extensive discussion regarding the issue has already taken place, so that only a summary of the main points will be attempted here.

The bills now before the Congress were introduced in January, 1945, and are known as H.R. 515 and S. 188, and are identical. They are known as the May-Gurney Bill. It provides for "military or naval training for all male citizens who attain the age of eighteen years." When the year of training is completed, each young man shall be enrolled "as a reservist in the land or naval forces of the United States for a period of six years and in case of an emergency declared by Congress shall be subject to compulsory military service." The May-Gurney Bill does not describe the nature of the proposed training program but leaves this important matter in the hands of the army and navy authorities.<sup>1</sup>

The arguments as advanced by the proponents of the plan may be placed under the following headings.

1. Peacetime conscription will help to provide an "effective national defense system."<sup>2</sup> It will serve notice on the rest of the nations in and out of the United Nations

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<sup>1</sup> For a statement of the May-Gurney Bill, see the *Congressional Record or Social Science*, 20:101-3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. John Fischer, "The Future Defense of the U.S.A.," Harper's, 190:160 ff.

that no sneak attacks can be made again on the United States, or that if such an attack is made this nation will be able to strike back. It will demonstrate that the United States is "strong," that it is not a soft nation subject to clever appeasement plans, and that it is constantly "alert" to dangers from outside itself.<sup>3</sup>

2. Peacetime conscription will perpetuate "the peace and security of future generations." By being strong in a military way, the United States will be safeguarded. In a world where force still remains at the center of many national ideologies, military force alone can guarantee the peace of the world.<sup>4</sup>

3. Peacetime conscription will give the necessary discipline to life in the United States. Without such a training program, respect for law, order, and authority will sink to a new low. One year of military training will put pampered youth in their places; it will tone up human relationships and help to place them on a respectable plane. Youth again will pay proper homage to their parents and elders, to the representatives of the law, and to their leaders generally. The immaturity and irresponsibilities of many youth will give way to maturity and responsibility.<sup>5</sup>

4. Peacetime conscription will build up the health of the young men of the nation. It will give them rigid physical exercises, strengthen their physical fiber, and give them the adventure of an outdoor life. It will "tan and toughen" 800,000 young men each year. It will make "men" out of flat-chested youth.

5. Peacetime conscription will furnish an excellent basis for obtaining officers for the armed forces. The boys with the best records will be trained for the professional

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<sup>3</sup> Albert E. Cox (National Guard), "Military Training," *Social Science*, 20:93-96.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. H. W. Baldwin, "Conscription for Peacetime," *Harper's*, 190:293 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 292.

officer service. In case of another war a large group of officer personnel will be ready to take charge.<sup>6</sup>

6. Peacetime conscription rests "upon the democratic principle that all citizens of a free state should be trained to defend their country."<sup>7</sup> No one portion of the population will have to bear the burden alone. All will share alike in shouldering the responsibilities of defending the nation.

7. Peacetime conscription will help to solve the problems of coming unemployment. It will take nearly a million men each year out of competition for jobs. It will release pressure on industry, perhaps sufficiently to solve some of the industrialists' problems.<sup>8</sup>

Other arguments are advanced, but the foregoing are the most frequently discussed. Illustrations are omitted because the points are fairly clear as presented.

The opponents of the compulsory military training in peacetime present a wide range of arguments which may be reduced to the following points.

1. Peacetime conscription will train 800,000 men a year to fight and kill. It will cheapen the attitudes of the young men toward life. It will direct their thinking for a year in terms of possible hatred for the rest of the world. One soldier suggests that it would be better to train all young people of the nation to understand the cultures and peoples of the world.

2. Peacetime conscription is illogical.

(a) It says to the world that military training is bad for Germany but good for the United States.

(b) It will make the United States an armed camp at the time that the nation is working for a peacemaking program for the rest of the world.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. James W. Wadsworth, "The Proposal for Compulsory Training in Peacetime," *Social Science*, 20:66-68.

<sup>7</sup> The May-Gurney Bill, second paragraph.

<sup>8</sup> Sidney B. Hall, "National Service and Compulsory Military Training," *Social Science*, 20:83.

<sup>9</sup> S. A. Coblenz and J. W. Wadsworth, "Will Peace Require Universal War Training?" *Free World*, 9:47-53.



(c) It would be an arbitrary system working continuously, not temporarily, against the democratic principles that the nation advocates.

(d) It violates the very Christianity that the nation professes.

(e) Preparation for war is not training for a thoughtful citizenship in a democracy.

(f) Peacetime conscription in the United States will be viewed in other countries as meaning that the United States is insincere in its peace-loving claims.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, it will stimulate other nations to take warlike steps. In turn, the military leaders of the United States will ask for more military preparations, and thus the race for a warlike world will be on again.

3. Peacetime conscription will be (a) expensive and (b) divert money from other needed activities. It will cost between three and four billion dollars a year. It will add greatly to the tax burdens of a people already carrying a heavy load of national debts. From a military point of view it would be wiser to put such funds into maintaining adequate air forces and air bases, an adequate two-ocean navy, and an adequate technological development program in military science and chemical warfare.<sup>11</sup> From a nonmilitary standpoint it will divert funds from constructive educational programs. It will consume 800,000 man-years of energy and life each year. It will not be economically productive.

4. The effectiveness of this training will decrease with each year after it is over. It becomes outmoded. As the men grow older and the years succeed each other, it would possess decreasing value. A real problem would be the time required to convert peacetime industry into war

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<sup>10</sup> Charles S. Collier, "Shall the United States Adopt a Plan for General Compulsory Military Training for Men as a Permanent Postwar Policy?" *Social Science*, 20:75.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

factories, perhaps a year to eighteen months, which would give ample time for a selective service training program to operate. The two can be started together in case of threat of attack upon the nation.

5. Peacetime conscription does not get at the causes of war, but will on the contrary add to them. In 1793 France started peacetime conscription, a measure which later became "the basis of Napoleon's military power" and which "stimulated his attempt to force French domination of Europe."<sup>12</sup> One European nation after another was stimulated to adopt peacetime conscription, and in 1873 Japan joined the procession—but with what results? Conscription has never prevented war.

6. Peacetime conscription will lead toward civil war and fascism in the United States. It will put guns and fighting skills into the hands of all the minority groups, who in this country are growing increasingly resentful of being discriminated against. Whole sections of the South are already asking that the Negro be disarmed and kept disarmed. Their fears are rising. Military training of masses of people who are threatening to start revolution at home when the war is over will add danger to danger, add to the conflict of classes, and add to the fascist tendencies already seeking expression. If all the minority groups are taught "the use of armed force, they will naturally resort to it as a political method."<sup>13</sup>

7. Peacetime conscription is a form of regimentation. "Army discipline is mechanical subservience to orders." It represents imposed automatic discipline, not an individual self-discipline. It makes "yes men." It means loss of initiative. It does not teach the average man to think for himself. An American Legion man says that American Legion conventions are no proof that the army engenders

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<sup>12</sup> Charles A. Ellwood, "The Case against Compulsory Military Training in Peacetime," *Social Science*, 20:70.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

discipline in men for the years after military training is ended.

The opponents claim that peacetime conscription will not help the morals of the nation. They agree that the morals of those in training may be built up for the time being, but they sum up this argument in the words of an army man to the effect that "the *average* soldier is pretty much the same as he was in civilian life except that his morals are lower, his conversation coarser, and his religious outlook more casual."<sup>14</sup> Peacetime conscription "challenges personal social controls."

It may be added that the opponents of peacetime conscription do not rest their case wholly on negation. They have come forth with an alternative. In place of peacetime conscription, they urge a vocational program of health and physical education, beginning with the early years of adolescence,<sup>15</sup> that will be woven into the regular educational program. They claim universal value in their plan, while insisting that the army rejects the unfit, does not help those most in need, and comes belatedly—at the age of eighteen. They urge a full-fledged vocational training program that will not upset training for life careers, postpone marriages, and otherwise disorganize the normal development of youth (as it is claimed that a year of military training would do). They point out that the cost of peacetime conscription, namely, three or four billion dollars every year, could be used to put into effect a forward-looking educational program for jobs, careers, citizenship, adult education, and cultural training for young and old alike.<sup>16</sup> They would promote plans for industrial justice, racial fairness, and democratic treatment of minority groups. They believe that military train-

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<sup>14</sup> Frank L. Wright, "The Case against Conscription," *Christian Century*, 62:300.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Hugh Hartshorne, "Conscription-Training and Its Alternatives," *School and Society*, 61:72-73.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. R. J. Havighurst, "Against Compulsory Military Training in Peacetime," *School Review*, 53:63-67.

ing cannot be a substitute for a rejuvenation of home, school, and church as social control agencies. They would not add military training for youth to the pampering of children, but train parents and others to eliminate pampering. They put emphasis on training for a more abundant life instead of on training to take life.

Although a classification of the most frequently advanced arguments pro and con produces an equal number of positive and of negative considerations, some method is needed for weighing each of the positive and negative contentions, particularly in terms of social value. The merit of each argument in its relation to social control and social change also would be an important quest. Another inquiry involves the ways in which peacetime conscription would affect the democratization both of persons and of the nation.

## SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

### *The University of Southern California*

To Clarence Marsh Case, a man deeply interested in his fellows, widely read in many fields of thought, and kindly disposed toward the humblest of mankind, has come tribute from students, colleagues, and friends in their recent publication of *Essays in Social Values*. The purpose of this volume is twofold: to give due meed of appreciation to a scholar of the finest order and a beloved teacher and to make available in small compass some of his significant essays and papers.

The book contains twelve essays, eleven previously published and one, "The Social Age Trend Chart," which appears for the first time. "The Social Infant on the Road" finds Doctor Case's characteristic sense of humor at its best. The essay of the "value" concept is the most deeply comprehensive discussion of a sociological nature appearing in this volume. It is supplemented by his notable conjuncture theory of leadership and his far-reaching analysis of conflict and cooperation. Four essays on what machines have done to civilization are introduced by the unique paper, "The Cave Man Started This Depression." The volume closes with three forward-looking documents on "Toward Gestalt Sociology," "Beyond Civilization," and "Creative Peacemaking."

Doctor Case's *Outlines of Introductory Sociology*, *Non-Violent Coercion*, *Social Process and Human Progress*, and this volume of essays constitute a tetralogy of sociological works that disclose the scholarship of a man closely observant of human culture. To him culture is a universal source for the development of attitudes and gives a basis for understanding social conflicts and problems. These writings reflect a charm of personality, a penetration of insight into human nature, and a transparent love of truth that are always highly prized but rarely achieved.



## SOCIAL WELFARE

**AN INTELLIGENT AMERICAN'S GUIDE TO THE PEACE.** Edited by SUMNER WELLES. New York: The Dryden Press, 1945, pp. 369.

In his introduction Mr. Welles expresses his belief that the great majority of the American people have become convinced that the policies of isolationism have been disastrous in recent years to our nation and that they believe the United States should join with other peace-loving nations in removing the origins of war. However, they are skeptical of diplomats and what they may achieve, and they know almost nothing about the peoples of most of the nations with which the United States would join in a world-wide organization.

This volume places within the reach of the people of the United States a boiled-down, up-to-date body of information about each of the nations of the world, arranged under the following categories: Europe, the British Commonwealth, the Western Hemisphere, the Far East, Near East and Mediterranean Orbit, and Africa. The treatment of each nation appears under headings such as the land and the people, the nation's economy, political history by periods, and stakes in the peace. In a brief treatment of each nation it has not been possible to avoid sketchiness at certain points. Further, the political slant is purposefully given emphasis, but a real understanding of other nations cannot be achieved unless their culture in each case is also described. It is not enough to know why a nation behaves in a particular way; it is also essential to understand why it behaves as it does, and the answer may usually be found in its culture patterns. However, this book makes available a valuable body of information about the nations to the people of the United States, thus helping the latter to do more and better thinking than in the past regarding a world organization of nations.

**THE IMPACT OF THE WAR ON COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP AND OPINION IN RED WING.** By F. STUART CHAPIN. Minneapolis: Minnesota Press, 1945, pp. 26.

In this study of a town whose population has not increased or decreased as a result of the war, the reactions of the people to wartime controls were obtained. Among the thirteen conclusions reached were these: (1) the majority of Red Wing citizens believe in and support wartime rationing, (2) the majority prefer local boards of enforcing officials to federal enforcing officials, and (3) the majority favor a gradual scaling down of rationing regulations after the war. Considerable materials are included in this document for the conducting of a group opinion study by other communities.

**TAXES WITHOUT TEARS.** By DONALD B. MARSH. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Jaques Cattell Press, 1945, pp. xvi+207.

Full employment, says the author, is the goal for fiscal policy. It does not mean the absence of all unemployment but allows for a frictional minimum. Our tax policy can control overemployment and also inflation. Full employment will be determined by the level of prices, hours of work, size of labor force, and amount of frictional unemployment. Among irrelevant proposals for curing unemployment are these: sending women back into the home, shortening of work day or week, giving preference to service men, and maintaining a large standing army. Redistribution of income is a factor—but that distribution which encourages investment and employment in the long run is to be preferred.

Monopoly always involves the regulation of price for greater profit. Usually monopolists are like other people, only richer. Under monopoly the output is restricted so that maximum net returns may be obtained. Government regulations have been negative and unsuccessful. Public ownership is a remedy in some cases, but an energetic fiscal policy can bring significant results. A serious maldistribution of income exists in the United States. It affects investment and employment and has especially harmful effects on venture capital. Income and inheritance taxes will lessen inequality, but a sales tax discourages consumption and thereby lessens employment. For the present we shall still have to struggle along with capitalism, but its survival will require the maintenance of full employment.

G.B.M.

**THE TERRITORIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF WASHINGTON YOUTH.** By PAUL H. LANDIS. Pullman: State College of Washington, Bulletin No. 449, Youth Series, No. 3, 1944.

**WASHINGTON HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES IN THE SECOND WAR YEAR.** By PAUL H. LANDIS. Pullman: State College of Washington, Bulletin No. 454, Youth Series, No. 4, 1944.

Four bulletins in the Youth Series have been published. No. 3 reports a study of 16,732 youth. The dominant pattern of territorial mobility in the state is the migration from rural and urban areas; and migration is the chief reason for the loss of rural youth. More youth locate in metropolitan centers than in intermediate-sized cities. Only 26.3 per cent of the young men and 4.5 per cent of the girls with jobs were in the same occupations as their fathers. No. 4 reports the activities of youth of the graduating class of the Second World War. Of the total, 20.1 per cent were in school, 27.5 per cent were at work, 26.9 per cent were in the armed forces, 21.5 per cent were unaccounted for, and the others were seeking work or not seeking work.

**THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT'S FIRST 100 YEARS.** By DESMOND FLANAGAN. London: Pilot Press, 1944, pp. 48.

In the Foreword, A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the British Admiralty, speaks from his long interest and participation in the cooperative movement and refers to its "immensely practical success." Cooperative activities cause despair to give place to hope, poverty to yield to economic justice among people of many different races and cultures. Cooperation is something which the ordinary people of England and Scotland "have contributed to world civilization."

The story of 100 years of consumer cooperation in Britain and in other countries is interestingly told. The "high spots" in this remarkable development of a democratic socioeconomic procedure are painted with a competent brush. Conclusions are reached, such as (1) "People will work together when they understand the need for common action," (2) "The weavers of Rochdale balanced independence with interdependence, self-interest with goodwill, and action with foresight," and (3) "Cooperators ask nothing from the state but freedom to carry forward their own organization." Many excellent photographs, taken from the CWS film, "Men of Rochdale," add substantially to arousing an interest in cooperatives.

**THE COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF FALL RIVER, MASSACHUSETTS.** A Study of Industrial Localization. By THOMAS RUSSELL SMITH. New York: King's Crown Press, 1944, pp. x+175.

The rise and decline of the textile industry in Fall River are told with considerable interest by Dr. Smith in this book. He centers attention upon the interrelation of geographic factors and economic activity. In reciting the tale of Fall River, he pictures the town in its infancy, youth, and maturity. It was once the leading textile manufacturing center of the United States at the beginning of the present century. Its waterfront, its climatic fitness for the manufacture of print cloths, and its accessibility to the major cloth marts of New York and Boston were chief among its locational advantages. Beginning in 1920, Fall River met with reverses, partly because of the rise of the productive capacity of the South. With this social and economic change, significant were the attempts to meet the crisis, namely, diversification of industrial products, lowered production costs, and the lowering of the standards once set by protective labor legislation. If anything socially significant comes out of all this, it is that property rights have had precedence over human rights. The author concludes his study with an account of the basis for survival adopted in Fall River by its manufacturers. Part of this basis rests upon the fact that the federal government under New Deal legislation equalized wage rates between the North and the South, and also upon the easing of Massachusetts labor legislation.

M.J.V.

**NEOSHA, MISSOURI, UNDER THE IMPACT OF ARMY CAMP CONSTRUCTION, A DYNAMIC SITUATION.** By LUCILLE T. KOHLER. The University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XIX, No. 4, Columbia, Missouri, 1944, pp. 121.

Neosha, Missouri (population 5,318 in 1940), is in the Ozark region and is the site of Camp Crowder, the building of which began in August, 1941. The writer went to live in the community in order to study the process of social change at first hand. The time coincided with the time of employment of the building of the Camp and continued into the "tapering-off period." The coming of the "stranger" brought acute problems of space, housing, traffic, business, overtaxing of utilities, exploitation, change of functioning of social institutions, new ways of living, and social tensions. The study is regarded as incomplete, since the procedure is not rounded out. It began with the construction period and was succeeded by the occupation of soldiers and the influx of relatives and friends. This second period will be followed by a third when the war comes to an end and the community must again make readjustments. What the pattern of that community will become then cannot be forecast. Even now the total effects of the presence of the Camp and the changes it has brought are not as yet fully evident.

The book is highly readable, and the facts are made vivid by the illustrative material, especially by quotations from personal interviews. Much use is made of sociological concepts and of earlier sociological studies of various types of communities.

B.A.MCC.

**CITIZENS LOOK AT PUBLIC HOUSING. A Symposium.** By Pittsburgh Housing Association, Pittsburgh, 1944, pp. 99.

The purpose of this symposium is to acquaint citizens of Pittsburgh with the local Housing Authority—its administrative structure, policies, activities, future plans, and relations with the community agencies. Design development, tenant selection, finance, accounting, and legal powers are each given attention. One section deals with the racial policy. Negroes and whites live in the same projects in case the project is located where such intermingling prevailed before. The social center activities, it was decided by the authorities, should be supervised by outside agencies, since the function of the housing agency was primarily to build houses and not to provide recreation.

The problem of cooperating with community agencies is always a vexing one. Different methods and different standards tend to prevail. Relations with the social workers have improved, but the goal has not yet been reached. Although there have been both community gains and losses, the gains easily outweigh the losses. This study not only throws light on the problem of public housing but also indicates to private industry the way to enter the low-cost housing field.

G.B.M.

**ORGANIZED LABOR.** By HARRY A. MILLIS and ROYAL E. MONTGOMERY.  
New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1945, pp. xiii+930.

This many-paged volume is the third and final in a series dealing with the economics of labor by the Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, Professor Millis, and by Professor Montgomery. Almost encyclopedic in character, it depends in large part upon the historical method of approach. From his rich experience as head of the National Labor Relations Board, Professor Millis draws forth many considerations and opinions for the enrichment of the discussions in the final sections of the book. Of the fifteen chapters in it, the last ten were drawn up by him. Among the larger topics presented are the history of American trade unionism, divided into four great periods; trade unions, the law, and the courts; the problems of strikes and lockouts; and the conciliation and arbitration of disputes.

Most interesting chapters are those dealing with the conciliation and arbitration of labor disputes and those with union policies and practices. Millis's conclusions with respect to industrial policies and the government are: constructive efforts should be made to put an end to the causes of industrial unrest; government has a responsibility with respect to wages, hours, and working conditions; an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of emergency intervention; government should protect the right of workers to organize if they wish to do so; labor laws should minimize the wars over organization and recognition. As for compulsory arbitration, it should be utilized only as an extreme and final method.

Reflections upon the maintenance of membership clauses by Millis: such clauses are compromise formulas set up for war industries and give the unions almost as much security as the union shop; unions thereby receive disciplinary powers over their members; members who remain in employment after the withdrawal period expires are proved loyal unionites. These and other expressions of his attitudes on the industrial situation in time of conflict make the book significantly important. Throughout the discussions on these matters of disputes, he has demonstrated his ability to measure with accuracy and impartiality opposing sides. His analyses of the conflict situations indicate not only a favorable view toward organized labor but a view tinged with social welfare motifs. "Oligarchic management of labor and representative government in the political sphere are inharmonious." Emerging clearly is his indictment of numerous employers who seek covertly to frustrate real collective bargaining while overtly making pious statements regarding the necessity of harmony, cooperation, and good will in industry. The case for representative government in industry has been stated with courage and forthrightness.

M.J.V.



**COOPERATIVE COMMUNITIES AT WORK.** By HENRIK F. INFELD. New York: The Dryden Press, 1945, pp. 201.

The major emphasis in this book is on such groups as the Hutterites, New Llano, the Sunrise Community, the FSA Cooperative Corporation Farms, the Ejido (Mexico), the Kolkhoz (Russia), and the Kvutza (Palestine). These types of social organizations are discussed in terms of their basic motives and are divided into two classes, the religious and the socioreformistic. The very important conclusion is reached that a central motive involving a deep sentiment, such as the religious motive, is essential to the life and growth of these enterprises. The profit motive exists in none of them, but a motive, either the religious or its counterpart, is essential. The author divides these groups in terms of what he calls segmental and comprehensive cooperation. His interest is in the latter, which are not consumers' cooperatives or Rochdale cooperatives, but chiefly collective organizations. Hence the title of the book is misleading. The title should have been, "Collective Communities at Work." Of the collective types that are studied, a definite preference is expressed for the Kvutza. Although the activities of the Smallholders' Cooperative Settlement in Palestine are mentioned, no enthusiasm is shown for this cooperative type of organization. An underlying aim of this book is to give consideration to plans for postwar resettlement and refugees. In this connection a success factor of prime importance is denominated "personal compatibility developed through mutual spontaneous choice of associates."

E.S.B.

**THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF PUBLIC HOUSING.** By Housing Authority of Newark, 1945, pp. 95.

This brief study of housing approaches the social effects of good housing from the positive side and shows that with good housing the whole social environment can be improved. Three different housing projects were selected for this study, and each was compared with the ward in which it was located. The Negro population was heavy in two of the projects and, of course, in the corresponding wards as well. The projects contained 4,853 persons out of a total of 61,458 in the wards—a large enough proportion to make the findings of the study significant.

Among the chief conclusions reached were the following: The tuberculosis rate in the projects was exactly one half of that in the wards. The infant mortality was much lower except for one year. The communicable disease rate was 50 per cent lower. There were no fatal accidents compared to a rate of 2.5 per 10,000 in the wards. Juvenile delinquency was lower in two of the three projects, and the fire rate was in the proportion

of 7.9 to 28.2. Finally, the records of the school children showed improvement. These and other results clearly show that good housing produces gains not only in physical well-being but in the texture of moral and social life as well.

G.B.M.

**SOCIAL TRENDS IN SEATTLE.** By CALVIN F. SCHMID, assisted by LAURA H. HOFFLAND and BRADFORD H. SMITH. Foreword by JESSE F. STEINER. University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, Vol. 13, pp. 1-337. Seattle: University of Washington Press, October, 1944.

In the Preface, Dr. Schmid explains his threefold purpose: (1) to furnish the professional social scientist with "certain basic data and generalizations concerning the processes of city growth and the patterns and characteristics of modern urban life"; (2) to provide "a systematic source-book of information for classes in social science; and (3) to assist social agencies and governmental offices in research and planning."

The book gives explicit facts concerning the growth and expansion of Seattle, population composition and trends, housing, and political trends and characteristics. There are three appendices. The first is a description of "Hooverville" of the depression period; the second discusses the methodology of the use of census tracts, pointing out the need for homogeneity within the areal unit; and the third discusses the "impact of the war on the town and cities of the State of Washington."

The book is amply illustrated by charts, maps, and photographs. It is a community case study, which makes a significant contribution to the growing literature in this field.

B.A.MCC.

**CARTELS OR FREE ENTERPRISE.** By THURMAN W. ARNOLD. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1945, pp. 32.

A cartel is described as "a ring of producers or distributors who have acquired control over domestic or foreign markets by agreements to maintain prices or control production and distribution." The author tells how big business hates government, how little business distrusts big business, and how power politics and pressure group activity are being used by each of these warring groups.

The results of the cartel system are overproduction, underconsumption, raising of prices, snuffing out of genuine free enterprise. The only way that a cartel system will work is under government direction. But who will direct international cartels, Mr. Arnold? And how about the records of regional, national, and international cooperative associations in "regulating" cartel prices?

## RACES AND CULTURE

**THE GOLDEN WING, A FAMILY CHRONICLE.** By YUEH-HWA LIN, Ph.D. New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1944, pp. 175.

Professor Lin Yueh-hwa, a young anthropologist with a Harvard University doctorate, has applied modern scientific methods of inquiry to Chinese social situations centering about the large family. The method used, that of participant observer, reveals such internal evidence of the author's intimate connection with the family that, without proof, one could readily identify the author as one of the sons.

This saga of the House of the Golden Wing reveals the unity of the large Chinese family, strengthened in time of crisis and calamity, threatened by conflicts within—conflicts due to jealousy and greed, to inefficiency and weakness, or to differing personalities—yet always binding each member irrevocably to his clan. Woven throughout as an integral part of the story are accurate descriptions of betrothals, marriages, funerals, and countless other daily rites and customs of the Chinese. Through the vicissitudes as well as the successes of the Hwang family the responsibility and loyalty toward the greater family stand out for what they are—the foundation of Chinese society. HELEN FERRIS

**BLACK BOY.** By RICHARD WRIGHT. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945 edition, pp. xiv+228.

This is a moving but sad story of Mr. Wright's own boyhood life in the South. Faced with insecurity, poverty, and fear during his youth, one wonders how he managed to become one of the most accomplished and gifted of our younger American writers. His intense reactions and feelings as he faced many unfair and trying experiences are expressed in vivid yet self-controlled statements of facts. He never slackens the emotional intensity of the story. The South provided no release for him and gave him no opportunity to develop his native talents and abilities. He was a trapped fellow, enslaved by the shackles of ancient injustices. In reading the story one wonders whether there were not some whites and some favorable conditions of life that helped him to realize his hope of a better lot for himself and his race. But the story ends with the same sad note with which it begins, except in the last paragraph, in which he states that he is headed north, "full of a hazy notion that life could be lived with dignity." Yet, deep down, he knew that his personality and his feelings had already been formed by the South. As a source of sociological material this autobiography has great merit. M.H.N.

**FRENCH CANADA IN TRANSITION.** By EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943, pp. ix+227.

What happens when a French Canadian rural dweller comes to town and becomes an industrial worker under a culturally alien employer is told with fine sociological insight by Professor Hughes in this account of a town in Quebec. The town is labeled as Cantonville by the author. In 1911 its population was 2,605; by 1937 it was 19,424. Industry had arrived, and in its wake came the problems and the conflicts that confront a resident group when invaded. Only here, these were intensified by the accompaniment of an ethnic factor. The French Canadians, mostly with rural patterns of living, found themselves working in industries managed by the English. The English Canadians, although a minority group, held the position of authority in the economic life. The relations between the two groups have been characterized therefore by a great number of social barriers. Intermarriage is infrequent, and social contacts are somewhat limited.

Industrial and town life carries with it the impact of social change, and Professor Hughes writes in detail of this as it has affected the old rural economy traditions. The recent unrest and discontent of French Canada have been due in part, thinks the author, to a dualistic tendency on the part of the French residents to condemn the intrusion of industrialism while at the same time attempting to obtain a better foothold in it. The book offers a fine opportunity to understand the culture patterns that have been flourishing in French Canada and to note the effects of a changing world upon them.

M.J.V.

**REPORT FROM RED CHINA.** By HARRISON FORMAN. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1945, pp. iv+242.

*Report from Red China* is an informal yet critical evaluation of what the Communist party (Kungchantang) represents in China today. The report is informal in the sense that it recounts the experiences and impressions of a six months' stay in 1944 in Yen-an and the area occupied by the Communists. Mr. Forman was a member of the first group of observers permitted to visit this area by the Chungking government in six years. The book bridges the gap in the years in which no direct information has been available as to what has actually taken place in Red China.

Mr. Forman believes that Chinese communism has a dynamic leadership and pattern of its own which is independent of Russian domination or collaboration at the present time. It is pointed out that Chinese communism has departed from the Russian pattern in some significant ways, namely, in that it does not insist on one-party control of government or collectivism, though cooperatives have been encouraged and developed. The Communists, Mr. Forman believes, are more interested in agrarian

reform, democratic participation of the people in government, and mass education than they are in establishing a government based on purely Communist doctrine.

The Kungchamtang has engaged in constant guerrilla warfare against Japanese aggression, even though they have been blockaded by the Chungking government. Their achievement in this respect is all the more astonishing in view of the fact that the Chungking government has not provided them with any materiel. The Kungchamtang insists, first, that the blockade maintained by Chungking, as well as the one-party system of that government, is fascism which should be altered by a coalition government of all parties and groups and, second, upon the establishment of a united High Command to guarantee victory in the war of resistance and in the realization of a democratic government. Mr. Forman is undoubtedly sympathetic with and understanding of the Kungchamtang, and his book should be read, as well as the more critical estimate by Lin Yutang in his *Vigil of a Nation*, in order to gain a balanced understanding of the total problem of Kuomintang versus Kungchamtang. ALICE C. GRUBE

**A RISING WIND.** By WALTER WHITE. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1945, pp. 155.

The author, well known as the executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, visited ETOUSA (the European Theater of Operations, United States Army) last year and with full permission visited "the spots where there had been racial clashes," where he sought out the reasons for the difficulties. He speaks favorably of the attitude of General Eisenhower concerning racial situations, and he expresses the belief that the white soldiers who come to know Negro soldiers exhibit much better racial attitudes than do the officers occupying positions between the soldiers and the top officers. He tells many an incident of the undemocratic behavior of white members of the United States Army, and gives striking accounts of fair play exhibited by white soldiers toward Negroes.

The title of the book is quoted from a famous sentence by Mrs. Roosevelt, "A wind is rising throughout the world of free men everywhere, and they will not be kept in bondage." The stories involve future developments in the United States. When Nazi prisoners of war enter the front door of a restaurant in a city in the South and wounded Negro soldiers wearing the uniform of the United States Army are "made to go around to the back and eat in the kitchen," the Negroes throughout the South feel enraged. The wind that is rising is one of determination by "the have-nots of the world to share the benefits of freedom and prosperity which the haves of the earth have tried to keep exclusively for themselves."

E.S.B.



**SOLUTION IN ASIA.** By OWEN LATTIMORE. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1945, pp. 214.

A leading authority on Asiatic matters discusses directly and forcefully the political needs of Asia, and particularly those of China. He supports Chiang Kai-shek, claiming that the latter is neither a dictator nor a fascist. He explains that "true fascism" is created when "a very narrow coalition of big business and big militarism decides to set up a dictator who will be the master of the nation but the servant of the inside ring." The Communists in China are described as a peasant party. They exercise the dominant influence over territory in which 80,000,000 people live. The National government rules 200 million people, and the Japanese armies dominate 170 millions. The Communists have made a record that compares favorably with or represents an improvement on the work of the Kuomintang in regard to economic conditions, taxation, and conscription.

The author develops what he calls "the politics of attraction," or the procedure of developing security, equality, and social welfare within a nation as a means of drawing other nations to the first nation's way of life. This method is more effective than propaganda.

In regard to Japan, the belief is expressed that the Emperor must go and that the properties of the giant combines which are controlled by a few families should be funded and placed under the Ministries of Economics and Finance. "The Japan of the future will be a republic." The book is stronger on diagnosis than on prognosis. It works out a more unified plan for Japan's future than it does for the days ahead in China.

E.S.B.

**THE GONDWANA AND THE GONDS.** By INDRAJIT SINGH. The Mall, Lucknow (India), 1944, pp. ix+201.

While this is intended as a dissertation on the economic life of the Gonds, it reveals in a broader sense other social and cultural organizations of this primitive society. There are highly interesting chapters on social stratification, the unique Gotul institution for education of the youth, kinship organization, family and marriage. These culture patterns are shown in relation to others where reciprocal influences exist, particularly the economic mores. The practical purpose of the study is emphasized in the discussion of the forms of economic activities, the division of labor which is characteristic, leadership traits, and the influence of magic in their economic life. It is a realistic study of a primitive folk in India, not only useful for its description of their mode of life but an excellent example of acculturation. Sociologists and anthropologists alike welcome studies of this kind in order to gain a better understanding of the many primitive peoples of India.

J.E.N.

**WORLD CULTURE.** By PRYNS HOPKINS. Pasadena, California: Freedom Publications, 1945, pp. 146.

In a brief compass, the author has succeeded in placing a major emphasis on a highly important concept today, namely, world culture. Never before has this idea been so laden with potential meaning to mankind. In seven chapters some of the major contributions to world culture are presented. Careful judgment is shown in outlining the cultural contributions of Asia, northern Africa, Arabia, Europe, and the Americas. The total results are many but not so impressive as might have been expected. World War II, according to Dr. Hopkins, will not likely be instrumental in producing a forward movement of mankind, except in a few minor directions. The author would like to see the psychoanalytic method of understanding and curing psychoneurotic orders widely adopted, the American system of education with its idealism adapted to needs in many nations, the Latin attitude of racial acceptance become common, the development of a great new output of pictures, poems, and dramas, and a great extension of civil liberties and democratic institutions throughout the world.

**THE POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS.** By J. E. WECKLER and THEO. E. HALL. Chicago: The International City Managers Association, 1944, pp. 20.

In this well-written statement of "a program to prevent disorder and to improve relations between different racial, religious, and national groups," valuable facts are given about race riots and important suggestions are made for the use of the police. Prompt, objective action is emphasized. Difficulties between races can be anticipated and prevented by the police. Since it is the primary function of the police "to maintain the peace," it is their business to prevent large-scale disorders, not by the use of violence, but by anticipation of trouble by far-sightedness and by an understanding of the nature of race conflicts.

**THE JUNKER MENACE.** By FREDERICK MARTIN. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1945, pp. x+155.

The author develops the thought that "Germany's crimes against the world are the result of a mental and moral attitude" developed by the Junkers through their control over the army, bureaucracy, and education. The Junker ideals are those of "caste arrogance and aggressive violence." The Junker overlords must be wiped out, according to the author, before the occupation officials can hope to apply educational methods in Germany that will achieve democracy. The Prussian landed aristocracy, known as Junkers, number 12,000 to 15,000 families. For these people there "must be wholesale removal" from their estates and a deprivation of all their privileges and emblems of nobility. Some of their leaders must receive

"lifelong imprisonment outside of Germany." These measures must be accompanied by democratic voting throughout a subdivided Germany and the building of strong democracies through education. Each of the reconstructed German states should be under the tutelage of a nearby small nation, such as Holland, Belgium, Denmark, and so forth. Through the slow process of time, through freedom of speech and the press, and through the school, press, radio, and motion pictures, a loose federation of democratic German states may be developed.

**ASIA ON THE MOVE.** By BRUNO LASKER. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1945, pp. xv+207.

This book gives a brief history of the movements of population in eastern Asia. However, only the highlights of the historical background are presented to show how the recent drifts are a part of a continuing process that is determined largely by natural forces. The chief aim is to describe not the past or the distressful present but to indicate possible developments in the future. The material is divided into parts, dealing with land and population, man and internal migration, international migration, emigration beyond Asia, and postwar prospects. The overflows of internal population movements into foreign territory have peopled most of the countries of Southeast Asia and have added to the population of the coastal region of Northeast Asia and spilled over into Mongolia. It is difficult to assess the uneven growth of population on the future migratory movements in Asia, but the redistribution of population will be influenced more than in the past by technical change. The immediate postwar problem is that of providing migrant relief and rehabilitation. Concerted planning is needed for the long-range control of population movements.

M.H.N.

**MEXICO'S ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION.** Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1945, pp. 60.

In this "Proceedings" of the Conference held in Albuquerque, February 24-25, 1944, copyrighted by the School of Inter-American Affairs, University of New Mexico, five major articles of importance are given. They deal with subjects such as the indigenous cultures of Central Mexico, the importance of the study of English and Spanish in the international relations of Mexico and the United States, the National Autonomous University of Mexico, and the bases and significance of relations between Mexico and the United States. If the ideas expressed in this document are an indication, then this Conference may be judged to have made a real contribution to a better understanding between Mexico and the United States.

**THE HOPI WAY.** By LAURA THOMPSON and ALICE JOSEPH. With a foreword by John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Composed and printed at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, for the U.S. Indian Service. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. 151.

One of the authors, Laura Thompson, is an anthropologist and Coordinator of Research on Administration for the Society for Applied Anthropology; her coauthor, Alice Joseph, is a neuropsychiatrist. The book presents an attempt at the analysis of the Hopi society viewed as a totality. The authors' purpose is to give a documented, multidimensional picture of the Hopi culture-personality configuration as a whole in its total environmental setting. The book is the result of cooperative research with the application of methods and techniques from many sciences by a staff of various technicians. It is the first study of a series presenting the result of the Indian Education Research Project, sponsored jointly by the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago and the United States Office of Indian Affairs. The authors' attempt may be called successful, and the book is recommended to sociologists, educators, administrators, and to all others who are interested in social problems in general and in the White-Indian cultural contact especially.

IVAN A. LOPATIN

## SOCIAL THEORY

**ARE MEN EQUAL?** By HENRY ALONZO MYERS. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1945, pp. 183.

The problem of the equality of man has puzzled philosophers through the ages. Dr. Myers, who majored in medieval philosophy, traces the philosophical concepts of "equality" from earliest times. Of pertinent interest to students of sociology are the many references made to Amos, Isaiah, Aristotle, Plato, Aquinas, Bentham, Hobbes, Rousseau, Spencer, Gobineau, Nietzsche, Sumner, and Bellamy. The general problem is outlined in the first two chapters, "The Great Issue" and "Are Men Equal?" The remainder of the book is devoted to developing the idea of equality as it has progressed in America in relation to the American mind (1776-1856), slavery (1856-1861), and free enterprise (1861-1941).

The doctrine of inequality is one of the oldest in the history of thought. It held a central position in Greek philosophy, the source of many of our intellectual traditions. Plato took for granted that men were unequal. Myers points out that physically, mentally, and morally men are not equal. "Inequality has a fatal beauty, which may be described in one word: order." Emerson discovered that all men are equal in ultimate worth and subject to a common fate. Lincoln argued that men are equal

in respect to the inalienable rights named in the Declaration and in the Bill of Rights. Because there is a final reckoning, all men are equal because all are subject to a moral law which universally prevails. "All immortal souls are equally precious in the eyes of God." Dr. Myers concludes that American democracy, founded on real faith in human equality, has produced new ideals for personal freedom. We shall continue to adhere to the "proposition of equality, and the standard justice of equal private rights."

CLYDE VEDDER

**THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY.** By RALPH LINTON.  
New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1945, pp. xix+157.

Noting that the psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists in dealing with the individual, society, and culture have shown evidences of collaboration in the formation of a new science devoted to the study of the dynamics of human behavior, Professor Linton has in these essays undertaken to formulate a chart for guidance in the new field. He has offered a carefully thought-out, well-integrated analysis of personality from the conjuncture of some of the most important findings of psychology, sociology, and cultural anthropology. Some new concepts which may be of specific value are introduced, such as "culture construct" and "status personalities." His idea of a culture construct pattern is that it is a modal derivative, the mode of the "finite series of variations which are included within each of the *real* culture patterns," and then used as a symbol for the real culture pattern. Status personalities are those personality types with "additional configurations of responses which are linked with certain socially delimited groups within the society," a kind of superimposition of the role imposed by stratification upon the individual on top of the basic personality role. It is a status-linked response configuration. This is, of course, another way of stating that the individual plays more than one role in society, a fact which the author with pointed humor pointed out in a preceding chapter dealing with culture participation, and seemingly neglected to remember that these other roles might have been assigned to classifications comparable with that of status personality.

His definition of personality as the "organized aggregate of psychological processes and states pertaining to the individual" is recognized by him as excluding from the concept "the physical structure and the physiological processes," and as admittedly vague. The reception of the individual by society takes some account of his physical appearance, and the way in which his organic processes function often play a part in the individual's reception of society. Professor Linton's definition is weak from this point of view. The book has so much that is valuable in it, however, that it may be considered an essential one to read.

M.J.V.



**WAR, PEACE AND NONRESISTANCE.** By GUY FRANKLIN HERSHBERGER.  
Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: The Herald Press, 1944, pp. xv+415.

The past twenty-five years have witnessed a growing interest in the moral and religious aspects of peace and nonresistance. The two world wars have accentuated this interest. Mr. Hershberger traces the historical development of the doctrine of nonresistance in Christian faith, beginning with the Old Testament and the New Testament conceptions of peace and war, and the development of them in the Christian church. The central portion of the volume deals with the Mennonite movement, especially the doctrine of nonresistance and the background conditions of it, and how the Second World War is affecting the Mennonites in America. Considerable attention is given to nonresistance and the state in modern life, modern pacifism, and the service of nonresistance to society. While the treatment is comprehensive and authoritative, it is written from the point of view of the principle of nonresistance as being the scriptural and practical way of life for the Christian believer.

M.H.N.

**ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEEN-EIGHTIES.** *Toward a Social Basis for Freedom.* By HELEN MERRELL LYND. New York: Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. x+508.

The first part of this book studies the interplay of long-term trends and particular events in bringing about a changed social philosophy. It provides a setting for the discussion, in Part II, of the role different institutions played in bringing about changes in philosophy. The institutions stressed are political parties, organized labor, religion, education, and organizations of insurgent groups.

Mrs. Lynd has skillfully presented the principal issues of a critical decade in England's history. It is shown why and how the outmoded individualism of the laissez-faire period was superseded by new principles of social freedom. Throughout the study the reader is aware of the struggle between the privileged classes and the masses in English society—the conservatives who wanted to keep things as they were and the millions who clamored for change. It is shown that the forms of collectivism and social security as developed in the eighties are not freedom. In this study of economic and psychological factors in change, Mrs. Lynd has set a pattern and a standard that may well be observed in future research concerning critical periods of other countries, and not least, for the United States, where changes under the New Deal have been strikingly similar to those of England during the eighties. This book may appear comparatively brief; yet it is thoroughly annotated and ample for its purpose. Furthermore, it is not a dull book to read; quite the contrary.

J.E.N.

**THE SOCIAL THEORY OF JAMES MARK BALDWIN.** By VABAN D. SEWNEY. New York: King's Crown Press, 1945, pp. vi+93.

The contributions of Baldwin to social psychology have been widely recognized but not fully appreciated. Many persons regard him as the real "father of social psychology." It was he who several decades ago repudiated the idea of a "socialized individual self" as held by many psychologists and adopted the concept of man as an "individualized social self." This distinction is no meaningless verbalization, but a far-reaching interpretation.

The author has succinctly reviewed many of Baldwin's most important ideas and contributions to thought. These are stated in clear-cut language and bring Baldwin before the student in convenient form for examination. The documentation is ample, so that easy references may be made to the writings of Baldwin. In the concluding pages there is an interesting comparison of the ideas of Baldwin, Cooley, and Mead. Emphasis is placed on Baldwin's clear discernment that, since the subject matter of the social sciences has far more variables than the phenomena studied by the physical sciences, the physical science methods of research are not necessarily adequate for the social sciences. The latter, pointed out Baldwin many years ago, will need new distinctive and superior methods of research.

**THIS IS JUDAISM.** By FERDINAND M. ISSERMAN. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company, 1944, pp. viii+238.

With a great deal of insight and good judgment the author, a liberal Jewish rabbi, describes the teachings of Judaism so that the uninformed but interested non-Jewish reader can grasp the essentials of this religious system of thought. Its generic relationships to Christianity—in fact, its contributions to Christian thought—are made evident. The differences between Jewish and Christian teachings are explained. The origins and developments of Jewish thought are described, and the ways in which it is the heart of Jewish culture are analyzed. The applications of Judaism to life constitute the third and concluding part of the book. Judaism as expressed in democracy, in racial relations, in social justice, in marriage and intermarriage, and in world peace will prove to be the most interesting aspects of the book to many persons. "Without democracy there can be no social justice." "The establishment of social justice is a way of accelerating the kingdom of God." "Only world justice can establish world peace." If "the advanced nations of the world destroy themselves with the weapons they have made," there will emerge "from the jungles of Africa, the deserts of Asia, or the lonely islands of the Pacific some backward people who will advance to the leadership of humanity's caravan." These are some of the applications of the teachings of Judaism.

**ANTHOLOGY—1944.** *A Collection of Creative Works by Members and Friends of Circle Pines Center.* Compiled and edited by LOIS RUNEMAN. Cloverdale, Michigan: Circle Pines Center, 1944, pp. 44.

At last a small but delightful volume of verse about cooperation by cooperatively minded people has been produced. The verse is well supplemented by interesting prose materials. "The People Came Together," by Edward J. Teal, brings out the dynamic and thrilling elements in "working together." The director of Circle Pines Center, David E. Sonquist, is the author of a number of songs; he contributed both words and music to "Through Maple Leaves," "Come Along with Me," and "The Snowflakes Come." Woodbridge O. Johnson, Jr., writes "White Fellowship" and tells how the falling snow creates without violence "a white fellowship" of the nations, "boundless as barrier-leaping love." Paul Boylan is the author of the "Song of the Flowers." A skit by "All of the Citizens of Toad Lane, Circle Pines Center" is included and bears the lively title "The Co-ops Go to Town." All told, there are over twenty different contributors to this anthology. Twenty-seven different titles afford the reader a pleasant evening; or, better still, they offer a discussion circle—an hour, or several hours, of cooperative insight. Perhaps this excellently printed document will stimulate many other efforts of a similar nature, for the need is great to see cooperation with a vision and to see it whole.

✓ **PLANETARY DEMOCRACY: An Introduction to Scientific Humanism and Applied Semantics.** By OLIVER L. REISER and BLODWEN DAVIES. New York: Creative Age Press, 1944, pp. xii+242.

This volume is an elementary exposition in persuasive language of the merits of a humanism based on contemporary science. Its theory is that men could achieve universal democracy if they only would. In fact, they must do so, or else—. In the attempt to exploit semantic ideas and ideals the authors encounter the usual difficulty: the need to employ many words and phrases which are meaningful only to the initiated, e.g., space-time-matter unity, world cortex, globalism, political-economic-ideological synthesis. This volume is another in a series of an already blooming new cultism in which the cult of Science, the cult of Man, and the cult of Reason merge into the cult of the Globe. Thus, there are to be noted weaknesses of cults generally: oversimplification of thinking, failure to understand adequately the forces at play in contemporary society, a tendency to "go to the logical extreme," and hence to depreciate, if not to reject, uncritically all opposing data, reasoning, and points of view, and the idealization of its own conceptions with the glorification and sanctification of a few magical words: planetism, semantics, humanism, democracy. The book is valuable as data for the student of social movements, for the student of the natural history of social institutions, and particularly for the student of cults.

E.F.Y.

**EMOTIONAL FACTORS IN LEARNING.** By LOIS BARCLAY MURPHY and HENRY LADD (Sarah Lawrence College). New York: Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. 404.

This book is significant because of the detailed and analytical study of the process of learning and the various influential factors evident in the cases of different students. The study is one made possible by a five-year grant from the General Education Board. Various types of case materials, including careful individual studies, the results of many kinds of tests, and the detailed records of teachers provided the sources. Part Two presents a series of individual studies which illustrate different problems and various aspects of the learning process.

The conclusions do not strike one as new. However, they do emphasize by means of concrete material what have been regarded as fundamental principles by progressive teachers wherever found: for example, the essential consideration of individual needs in college counseling and in the selection of courses on an individual basis. However, the original contribution is found in the planning of a total curriculum on an individual basis. Sarah Lawrence College is famous for its flexibility and its freedom of procedure. A dynamic is found in the conclusion that each student has a unique pattern of learning with the design dating back to childhood, affected by constitutional make-up and early social experiences. A basic assumption of this book is "that a democracy may be enriched by the development of individuals in terms of their own capacities and interests." The book is a challenge to every teacher honestly concerned with the maturing of human personality and with the possible contribution of the learning experience to that result. B.A.MCC.

**EXPERIMENTAL SOCIOLOGY.** A Study in Method. By ERNEST GREENWOOD. New York: King's Crown Press, 1945, pp. xiii+163.

Experimental sociology is a term with which to conjure. It has a variety of meanings, but its significance will depend upon the development of a common denominator for this important subject. Part of the difficulty arises out of the fact that scientists in general are not yet agreed upon a common understanding of what is meant by the "experimental method" itself. To meet this situation the author devotes a chapter to "A Suggested Definition of the Experimental Method."

The author concentrates on the "ex post facto" method after discussing the question at length: Is the ex post facto method experimental? Where this method is used, all the events have taken place and the problem is that of reconstructing the facts, sequences, and meanings involved. For example, the graduates of a given high school five years after graduation are studied in terms of their achievements in comparison with per-

sons of similar ages, races, and other comparable factors who did not go to high school.

Considerable attention is given to the question: Can sociology conduct "controlled experiments"? And again the question is asked: Is not everything that is going on in human relations experimental, or perhaps many series of experiments taking place simultaneously or as aspects of one another? One of the most useful chapters, for the beginner, is that dealing with "A Typology and Description of Sociological Experiments." The value of the book rests not so much in arriving at definite conclusions as in bringing into the open important questions regarding experimental sociology. It makes a real contribution to the ultimate development of experimental sociology.

E.S.B.

## SOCIAL DRAMA

ANNA LUCASTA. A Play in Three Acts. By PHILIP YORDAN. New York: Random House, 1945, pp. 184.

*Anna Lucasta* is a current success on the New York stage. Philip Yordan first wrote it as the story of a Polish-American family, but a group of Negro players who wished to act in it asked him to make it the story of a Negro family. The events in it, however, might well have happened to any family in straitened economic circumstances.

Because Anna Lucasta's father loved her so much, he found himself unable to forgive her when she made one false step. His stern, unforgiving nature drove her from home. He tried to forget her by means of drinking himself to death. Anna went to the Brooklyn waterfront and became a streetwalker, taking up with anyone who would shelter her. Danny, the sailor, seemed to be able to give her the love she craved far better than anyone else. In the meantime, back in the Pennsylvania home, her family fared none too well that spring of 1941.

One day, a letter came to her father from his old-time Alabama neighbor and friend, Otis Slocum. Otis asked Joe to find his son a good girl because he was sending him North with eight hundred dollars. Rudolf needed a fine wife. Anna's mother immediately thinks that her daughter might have a chance to redeem herself if she would marry Rudolf. Her suggestion gives a cue to the brother and sister. If Anna can be induced to play the game, they may have some share in the money Rudolf carries. Since Joe has kicked her out, he must bring her back. He refuses, but a severe beating at their hands sends him on to New York to meet Anna. Anna returns home and her mother is delighted. Rudolf does fall in



love with Anna, but at first she refuses to believe it. His sincerity finally wins her over and she marries him. On the wedding day Danny arrives. Her father tells Danny he had better take her back, inasmuch as he has written to Rudolf's father all about her. Anna is terrorized and maddened at the thought that her own father wants to ruin her last chance to live a decent life. In frenzy she runs out of the house with Danny. The play is given a happy ending, however, since Rudolf follows her and presumably rescues her from the waterfront life.

The play, which has a brilliantly written first act, is significant, since it shows as a major factor in delinquency, economic hardship. The picture of the family in distress is a memorable one. The characters are believable and the situations are realistic. The sketch of Anna Lucasta has been drawn with true psychologic insight.

M.J.V.

## SOCIAL PHOTOPLAY

*Tomorrow the World*, based on the drama by the same name which has been reviewed earlier in this Journal, is a study of the results of indoctrination, of the resulting conflict of cultures, and of the resultant need for overcoming the attitudes due to indoctrination and for changing them into democratic attitudes. The story centers around "Emil," a German boy of twelve who is the product of training in Nazi doctrines. Upon his arrival in the home of his uncle in the United States, the excitement begins. Emil shocks his relatives, his acquaintances, his fellow pupils, and bystanders by his outspoken expressions of his undemocratic attitudes. Extreme tension develops between him and his Jewish teacher. He meets with two sets of reactions. One is that which would change Emil's attitudes by the exercise of kindness toward him. His response is one of scorn and he interprets kindness as evidence of inferiority on the part of his would-be benefactors. The other attitude toward Emil is that of "treating him rough." This appears to be the major attitude which Emil understands and respects. In fact, it is rough treatment which brings about an apparent "conversion" on the part of Emil. The title of the picture is unsatisfactory; it is not definitive. The picture itself is revealing of the sharply, unbearably cocksure and haughty attitudes of Nazi youth. It also shows how difficult it will be to change Nazi attitudes into democratic ones, and how even the thinking on this problem by educational and other national leaders is at the present almost totally inadequate. The picture indirectly raises the far-reaching question of how to change the attitudes of millions of the Nazi German youth today to fit into a new world organization based on democratic principles.

E.S.B.

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